

THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL OF THE GOVERNOR OF MADRAS.

Wednesday, the 14th March 1934

The House met at eleven of the clock, Mr. President (the Hon. Mr. B. RAMACHANDRA REDDI) in the Chair.

PRESENT:

- | | |
|---|--|
| Usman Sahib Bahadur, K.C.I.E., The Hon. Khan Bahadur Sir Mahomed. | Moses, Mr. P. C. |
| Krishnan Nayar, Kt., The Hon. Diwan Bahadur Sir M. | Muniswami Nayudu, Diwan Bahadur B. |
| Campbell, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.B.E., V.D., I.C.S., The Hon. Sir Archibald. | Muniswami Pillai, Rao Sahib V. I. |
| Stokes, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., I.C.S., The Hon. Sir Hopetoun. | Muthiah Chettiyar, Mr. M. A. |
| Raja of Bobbili, The Hon. the. | Nachiyappa Gounder, Mr. K. A. |
| Rajan, The Hon. Mr. P. T. | Nadimuthu Pillai, Mr. A. Pl. N. V. |
| Kumaraswami Reddiyar, The Hon. Diwan Bahadur S. | * Nanjappa Bahadur, Subadar-Major S. A. |
| Abdul Hameed Khan Sahib Bahadur. | Narasa Reddi, Mr. T. |
| Ahmed Meeran Sahib Bahadur. | Narasimhaswami, Rao Sahib D. V. |
| Alamelumangathayaramma, Mrs. K. | Narayanan Nambiyar, Mr. V. P. |
| Annamalai Chettiyar, Mr. S. A. A. | Natesa Mudaliyar, Rao Bahadur C. |
| Appadurai Pillai, Diwan Bahadur A. | Palat, Mr. R. M. |
| Arasu, Mr. V. T. | Pannirselvam, Rao Bahadur A. T. |
| Ari Gowder, Mr. H. B. | Patnaik Mahasayo, Sriman M. G. |
| Basheer Ahmed Sayeed Sahib Bahadur. | Patro, Kt., Rao Bahadur Sir A. P. |
| Basu Dev, Mr. C. | Pattabhiramayya, Mr. K. |
| Bayappa Reddi, Mr. P. | Pattagar of Palayakottai, The. |
| Beyabani Sahib Bahadur, S. M. K. | Peddi Raju, Mr. P. |
| Birley, Mr. F. | Pocker Sahib Bahadur, B. |
| Davis, Mr. J. A. | Premayya, Mr. G. R. |
| Devadasan, Mr. M. | Rajagopala Pillai, Mr. P. V. |
| Dharmalingam Pillai, Rao Sahib V. | Raja of Parlakimedi, The. |
| Duraiswami Reddiyar, Mr. K. M. | Ramachandra Padayachi, Mr. P. K. |
| Ellappa Chettiyar, Diwan Bahadur S. | Ramakrishna Reddi, Mr. A. |
| Foulkes, Mr. R. | Ramalingam Chettiyar, Rao Bahadur T. A. |
| Gopalaswami Ayyangar, Diwan Bahadur N. | Ramamurti, Rao Sahib Pandit Ganala. |
| Harischandrudu Nayudu, Mr. A. | Raman Menon, Mr. K. P. |
| Hood, I.C.S., Mr. H. M. | Ramaswami Ayyar, Mr. T. S. |
| Jagannatham, Mr. H. M. | Ramaswami Mudaliyar, Mr. V. M. |
| Jayaram Nayudu, Rao Sahib C. | Ranganatha Mudaliyar, Mr. G. |
| Kesavaramamurti Nayudu, Mr. K. | Rangaswami Reddi, Mr. M. B. |
| Kolanda Reddi, Rai Sahib C. | Sami Venkatachalam Chetti, Mr. |
| Krishnayya Choudari, Mr. P. V. | Sesha Reddi, Mr. B. P. |
| Krishnamurti, Rao Bahadur D. | Shetty, Mr. A. B. |
| Krishnan, Mr. C. | Simhachalam Pantulu, Mr. G. |
| Kumararaja of Venkatagiri, The. | Siva Raj, Rao Sahib N. |
| Ladden, Mr. W. | Smith, C.I.E., I.C.S., Mr. E. Conran. |
| Lakshmana Reddi, Mr. G. | Sreshta, Mr. M. S. |
| Madanagopal Nayudu, Mr. R. | Srinivasan, Rao Bahadur R. |
| Mahmud Schamnad Sahib Bahadur, Khan Bahadur. | Sriramulu, Mr. G. |
| Manikkavelu Nayakar, Mr. M. A. | Subbarayan, Dr. P. |
| Metherell, Mr. J. K. | Subrahmanya Chetti, Rao Sahib P. |
| | Subrahmanya Bhatt, Mr. U. C. |
| | Syed Tajuddin Sahib Bahadur, Khan Sahib. |
| | Thangal, Mr. P. M. |

[14th March 1934]

PRESENT—cont.

Thomas, Mr. Daniel.
 Thorne, C.I.E., I.C.S., Mr. J. A.
 Vasudeva Pillai, Mr. V. G.
 Vedachala Mudaliyar, Mr. M.
 Venkatachala Reddiyar, Mr. K. C. M.
 Venkatarama Ayyar, Mr. K. R.

Venugopal Nayudu, Rao Bahadur R. K.
 Viswanatha Rao, Diwan Bahadur V. N.
 Yahya Ali Sahib Bahadur, Khan Bahadur.
 Zamindar of Kirlampudi, The
 Zamindar of Mirzapuram, The

I.—QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

STARRED QUESTIONS

Education

Protests against the proposal for the inclusion of the Ceded Districts in the territorial area of the Andhra University.

* 782 Q.—Mr. U. C. SUBRAHMANYA BHATT: Will the Hon. the Minister for Education and Excise be pleased to state—

(a) whether the Local Government have taken or intend taking any action on the resolution of the Syndicate of the Andhra University, dated 21st January 1934, wherein they expressed their desire to bring in the Ceded Districts within the Andhra University;

(b) whether the question of the inclusion of the Ceded Districts within the Andhra University was considered by the Government at any time before this; and

(c) if so, whether it is a fact that at that time the Government received several protests from the various parts of Karnataka including the Kanarese districts of Bombay?

A.—(a) The resolution contained only an expression of the Syndicate's views on a private Bill introduced in this Council and did not ask for any action by the Government.

(b) The question came up before the Government in 1929.

(c) Some protests were received.

Mr. U. C. SUBRAHMANYA BHATT:—"May I know, Sir, if at any time the Government find it necessary to take a decision on this question, whether they will consult the wishes of the people?"

The Hon. Diwan Bahadur S. KUMARASWAMI REDDIYAR:—"I cannot give any undertaking. I shall consider the hon. Member's suggestion."

Mr. U. C. SUBRAHMANYA BHATT:—"Will the Hon. Minister consult the wishes of the people before he decides to affiliate the Ceded Districts to the Andhra University?"

The Hon. Diwan Bahadur S. KUMARASWAMI REDDIYAR:—"I cannot understand what the hon. Member means by 'the wishes of the people.' I cannot make a referendum. I will try to consult the representatives."

14th March 1934]

Proposal for the restoration of the Fixed Travelling Allowance System in the case of Deputy Inspectors of Schools.

* 783 Q.—Mr. R. K. VENUGOPAL NAYUDU: Will the Hon. the Minister for Education and Excise be pleased to state—

(a) the average monthly travelling allowance drawn and the average number of days spent on tour in a year by each of the three grades of Deputy Inspectors (i) before and (ii) after the discontinuance of the fixed travelling allowance system; and

(b) whether there is any proposal before the Government to restore the Fixed Travelling Allowance System to these subordinate officers?

A.—(a) I am sorry I cannot furnish the information desired by the hon. Member as I do not consider that the amount of labour involved in compiling these figures is commensurate with the result: nor would any purpose, public or otherwise, appear to be served by working out these figures.

(b) No such proposal is before the Government.

Mr. P. V. KRISHNAYYA CHOUDARI:—"May I ask whether it is not a fact that the other departments also are granting only fixed travelling allowance after the Finance Committee's proposals?"

The Hon. Diwan Bahadur S. KUMARASWAMI REDDIYAR:—"I am not aware of it."

Mr. P. V. KRISHNAYYA CHOUDARI:—"Is it not a fact that, on account of this system of fixed travelling allowance, the Deputy Inspectors of Schools, who have to inspect 100 schools within a radius of five miles in a place like Guntur, do not get any travelling allowance?"

The Hon. Diwan Bahadur S. KUMARASWAMI REDDIYAR:—"I am not aware of it."

Mr. P. V. KRISHNAYYA CHOUDARI:—"May I know whether it is a fact that the Deputy Inspectors have already addressed the Director of Public Instruction in the matter and, if so, whether, when the matter comes up before the Government, they will reconsider the question?"

The Hon. Diwan Bahadur S. KUMARASWAMI REDDIYAR:—"When the matter comes up before them, the Government will consider; but I cannot say that the Government will consider the matter favourably."

Public Health

Treatment of leprosy.

* 784 Q.—S. M. K. BEYABANI SAHIB Bahadur: Will the Hon. the Minister for Local Self-Government be pleased to state—

(a) whether it is a fact that trained compounders are allowed to give leper injections whereas L.I.Ms. are not allowed to give such injections;

[14th March 1934]

(b) whether the Government have passed any Government Order to the above effect and if so, whether they will be pleased to place a copy of the same on the table of the House;

(c) whether the Government would be pleased to place on the table of the House a statement showing for each year from 1930—

(i) the number of injections given,

(ii) the number of patients to whom injections were given,

(iii) the number cured completely and discharged and the dates of such discharges;

(d) whether the Government are contemplating to abandon the present injections and to investigate for a better one to replace the same;

(e) whether any amount has been sanctioned to enable research work to be carried on in this direction; and

(f) whether the Government have ever consulted the heads of Unani section and deputed a competent man to make researches?

A.—(a) & (b) A few trained compounders called inoculators are giving injections under the direct supervision of medical officers in some local fund hospitals and dispensaries in the Salem district. This is done in a few leprosy clinics having a large attendance of cases of leprosy with a view to giving assistance to the medical officers who will otherwise be overworked.

No orders have been issued prohibiting L.I.Ms. from giving injections for leprosy.

(c) (i) & (ii) A statement * is appended giving the information required.

(iii) The treatment provided aims at arresting the progress of the disease, preventing mutilations and deformities, removing infectiousness and checking the spread of the disease. Many patients persevere in the treatment till these objects are achieved. The majority of cases however do not attend the out-patient leprosy clinics for a sufficiently long period to permit of a complete cure being possible although they show considerable improvement by the treatment. Information regarding the dates of discharge of cases of leprosy after a complete cure is not available since the majority of patients discontinue the treatment before a cure is possible.

(d) Researches are being conducted and the best methods are adopted from time to time.

(e) & (f) No.

Leprosy clinics in South Arcot and Salem.

* 785 Q.—Mr. BASHEER AHMED SAYEED: Will the Hon. the Minister for Local Self-Government be pleased to state—

(a) how many leper clinics have been established in the district of South Arcot and how many more are proposed to be started;

14th March 1934]

(b) what the places are where these leper clinics are located and to be located;

(c) what the qualifications are of the doctors in charge of these clinics and what the remuneration that is paid to each one of them is;

(d) what the number is of patients that attended each one of these clinics during the period they have been in existence;

(e) what the nature is of the treatment that is given to the patients and what the period for which the patients are treated;

(f) whether any report has been called for or will be called for as to the progress made and the number of patients cured in the various centres; and

(g) what the total expenditure is that has been incurred by the Government for leper relief in South Arcot and Salem?

A.—(a) to (g) A statement^a showing the information is laid on the table.

Religious and Charitable Endowments

Relief to the destitute poor.

* 786 Q.—Mr. K. KESAVARAMAMURTI NAYUDU: Will the Hon. the Minister for Local Self-Government be pleased to state what action has been taken by the Government with regard to the resolution moved by the Maharaja of Pithapuram and passed in the Council in 1930 for affording relief to the destitute poor?

A.—The attention of the hon. Member is invited to G.O. No. 4122, L. & M., dated 3rd November 1931, which was placed on the table of the House at its meeting held on the 26th January 1932.

[Note.—An asterisk (*) at the commencement of a speech indicates revision by the Member.]

II.—VOTING OF DEMANDS FOR GRANTS FOR 1934-35.

DEMAND VIII—HEADS OF PROVINCES AND EXECUTIVE COUNCILS—RESERVED.

* The Hon. Sir MAHOMED USMAN:—“ Sir, on the recommendation of His Excellency the Governor, I move—

‘ that the Government be granted a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,72,900 under Demand VIII. Heads of Provinces and Executive Councils—Reserved.’ ”

* Dr. P. SUBBARAYAN:—“ Sir, I move that we now take up for consideration first, cut motion No. 364 given notice of by the Kumara-raja of Venkatagiri, Khan Bahadur Yahya Ali Sahib Bahadur, Rao Bahadur A. T. Pannirselvam and the Raja of Mirzapuram so that there

[Dr. P. Subbarayan]

[14th March 1934]

may be a discussion of the Joint Memorandum submitted by the Indian Delegation to the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Indian Constitutional Reforms. (Mr. Abdul Hameed Khan: 'I have also given notice of a cut motion to the same effect.') As the time allotted for the discussion of this Demand is only two hours and as this is the only opportunity that we will get to discuss this important question before the Joint Select Committee submit their proposals to Parliament, I submit that this matter may be taken up first and debated."

Mr. K. R. VENKATARAMA AYYAR:—"I second it."

* The Hon. Sir MAHOMED USMAN:—"I have no objection to that course if that is the desire of the House."

The House agreeing to this course the motion was adopted.

* Khan Bahadur YAHYA ALI SAHIB Bahadur:—"Mr. President, I move—

'that the allotment of Rs. 3,72,900 for Heads of Provinces and Executive Councils—Reserved—be reduced Rs. 100.'

The object I have mentioned in the printed paper is to discuss the need for supporting the Joint Memorandum submitted by the Indian Delegation to the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Indian Constitutional Reforms.

"Sir, hon. Members are aware that in the month of November last, the Members of the Indian Delegation presented a Joint Memorandum to the Joint Parliamentary Committee on the question of Reforms embodying their views on some of the more salient questions covered by the enquiry. That document is a historic document entitled to the greatest amount of consideration both by this Government and by the other Governments of this country. It is a sober and well-reasoned statement of the case of India with reference to most of the burning questions of the day. It is a matter of no small satisfaction to this country that practically all the interests represented on the Delegation have come to an agreement with reference to all the most vital questions affecting the problem. Sir, except in regard to one or two points with reference to which Colonel Gidney and one or two other Members have expressed dissent, there have been on every question agreement and unanimity reached. That is a significant fact which has to be kept in mind in considering how far His Majesty's Government should allow any agitation in the ranks of the die-hard elements to influence them in the matter of whittling down or modifying their own proposals submitted to the Joint Parliamentary Committee.

"Sir, the memorandum has very clearly analysed the various objections that have been raised with regard to the granting of the full measure of freedom or independence that is offered in the White Paper Scheme. To meet the attacks of Mr. Winston Churchill and some other personalities who are indulging in a tirade against the grant of Reforms to Indians, facts and figures have been put forward, which, I submit, are all unanswerable. On the question of progress achieved by the

14th March 1934]

[Mr. Yahya Ali]

Ministers to whom powers have been delegated under the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme, the memorandum has conclusively shown that under the regime of Indian Ministers the progress achieved is not only proportionate to the extent of the scope they had having regard to the limitations that were placed upon them, but that the results appear to have been indeed marvellous. On the subject of communications, it has been shown how the road policy of the country has improved in recent years and how with the advent of the motor bus and the motor traffic the innermost parts of the country have been opened up. The question of education has generally received a great impetus and there has been admirable expansion in the direction of elementary education. So far as collegiate education is concerned it has been shown, with reference to facts and figures, that the proportion of persons having higher education is comparatively higher in this country than in most of the western countries. In the matter of medical relief and preventive medicine also sufficient progress has been made. These have been achieved in spite of the extraordinary difficulties in the matter of finance.

“ Sir, it has been conceded in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report that no responsibility could be real unless there has been a proportionate devolution of financial responsibility also. I believe His Majesty's Secretary of State for India in the course of his evidence before the Joint Parliamentary Committee also stated that by the transfer of responsibility His Majesty's Government meant transfer also of financial responsibility. No Minister can really wield any amount of responsibility unless a certain amount of financial responsibility is also given. We were attacking our own Ministers constantly in this House for their not showing sufficient progress in the field of Agriculture, in Industries and in various other directions. But we are aware, Sir, how they are unable to do much on account of their having no control over the finances of the Province. With all this, the memorandum has clearly furnished the proof that, in spite of these handicaps placed on them, our Ministers have achieved substantial progress. Therefore the objection taken to further advance is unfounded.

“ One other point I wish to mention and that is with reference to the simultaneous introduction of Federation with the grant of Provincial Autonomy. That is one feature on which too much stress cannot be laid. The three conditions pointed out in the White Paper, are firstly the formation of the Reserve Bank, secondly the accession to the Federation of a certain number of Indian States and thirdly the issue of a Proclamation which has to be acquiesced in by both Houses of Parliament. With reference to the first point, the Reserve Bank is a *fait accompli*. The difficulties adumbrated in the White Paper as regards the balancing of the budgets in the various Provinces and as regards the reduction of short-term loans and other financial obligations, have been surmounted. So far as the debt position is concerned, we are now assured that of the total debt of Rs. 1,212 crores that India owes, more than five-sixths is covered by productive assets and that only one-sixth remains covered by unallocated funds. But this amount is

[Mr. Yahya Ali]

[14th March 1934]

really not so great as to stand in the way of the grant of Federation. Anyhow the Reserve Bank has almost been established. Then, with regard to the accession of the Princes, we have an assurance from them that it would be possible within a year from this date to secure the adhesion of the number required in the White Paper. So that there is practically no difficulty in meeting the conditions laid down in the White Paper for the introduction of a system of Federation at the same time as the grant of Provincial Autonomy.

“ Sir, stress has been laid on the possible psychological effect of a settlement like this. But a certain amount of apprehension is entertained in Indian circles that possibly the introduction of Federation will be put off indefinitely. That, at all events, has to be removed. And in view of the fact that certain elements are working against the Indian Reforms, it is but fitting that the Reforms should be introduced as early as possible.

“ One or two other matters also I have to refer to, but I shall be brief in view of the fact that other hon. Members are desirous of speaking on this subject. I wish only to state one fact and that is that as many as five out of twelve of the signatories to this Joint Memorandum are Muslim Members of the Delegation. They have joined hands with the other Members of the Delegation, even though with reference to some questions the All-India Moslem League and the other bodies have come forward with special terms for their own communities seeing that the White Paper proposals do not go far enough to safeguard their own rights. It is significant that practically all the Muhammadan Members have given their assent to it. That being the case it is but natural that nothing more should be cut down from the privileges conceded to the Muslim community under the communal award. In conclusion I wish to impress upon His Majesty's Government that the most vital necessity of the occasion is that there should be no further delay in the granting of the Reforms. It is important that if at all we are to have any Reforms they should be given as early as possible, as otherwise if they come very late they may not be relished at all owing to the sickening feeling arising from hope deferred too long. With these words, Sir, I move the cut motion.”

11-15
a.m.

MR. ABDUL HAMEED KHAN:—“ Mr. President, Sir, I second the motion made by Mr. Yahya Ali supporting the Joint Memorandum of the Indian Delegation with regard to the White Paper proposals. Sir, it is an admitted fact that in this country the White Paper proposals have not been received with any appreciation, or rather, they have not been accepted by the people. The party which could have delivered the goods has stood out entirely and is opposed to the White Paper proposals *in toto*. They have found these proposals not only unsatisfactory, but in some cases retrograde, and on that account they have regarded the proposals not only as unfavourable to the interests of India but an obstacle and a source of danger to the freedom of the country and to its economic stability.

14th March 1934]

[Mr. Abdul Hameed Khan]

“ First of all, even with regard to the question of the Federation, as has been adumbrated in the White Paper, general opinion is against it and it regards it as only a hotch-potch of democratic Provinces and Indian States, which are nothing better than autocratic governments. Therefore the result is bound to be not democracy, but something which will be worse than the present form of Government, or at any rate, a form of Government as bad as it is now. Sir, the Joint Memorandum has been signed by the Liberal Leaders of the country, who co-operated with the Government, who attended the various meetings of the Round Table Conference, who believed that instead of standing aloof they would try to see whether the Government would not agree to so formulate proposals as to enable this country to achieve Dominion Status in a definite period of time. The White Paper proposals have not satisfied these conditions. The Delegates, amongst whom are included members of all communities and leaders of Hindus, Muslims, Christians and even Europeans and Anglo-Indians as well, have signed this Joint Memorandum, and they have made their own counter-proposals, so that, if the Joint Select Committee accepts their proposals, it will be possible for a very large section of people to accept the Constitution when it emerges from Parliament. Sir, it is a well-known fact that the Prime Minister of England, the other Ministers of His Majesty's Government, the Secretary of State himself and even the several Viceroy's of India have times out of number given pledges and assurances to the people of India, that what is aimed at in the new Constitution ultimately is Dominion Status. They have in so many words promised, and even in the Message of His Majesty the King that reference was made, and the assurance was given that ultimately the Constitution will result in the establishment of Dominion Status and in the award of freedom which is enjoyed by the several Dominions within the British Empire. But I am afraid, as I have stated once before, that if one peruses the White Paper proposals from the beginning to the end, one cannot come across even the mention of the words ‘ Dominion Status.’ Somehow or other those words are very carefully and sedulously kept out of the proposals. And this is due to the opposition that Government have met with from Mr. Churchill and his party. Thus Government have, in a way, given way to the agitation and protests of the Diehards. And so what is sought to be given by these proposals is only truncated democracy.

“ So far as Federal Legislatures are concerned we know that there will be representatives of the people in them both from British India and from Indian States; the latter will form in no small measure a block which will stand in the way of democratic advance. I hope, Sir, that the safeguards that have been sought to be made by the proposals of the Indian Delegation, will be accepted by the Joint Select Committee, namely, that there should be several restrictions on the rights and powers of the representatives of the Indian States with regard to voting, whenever subjects particularly pertaining to British India come up. If freedom is given to the representatives of the Indian States to vote side by side with the representatives of the British provinces on questions

[Mr. Abdul Hameed Khan]

[14th March 1934]

affecting British India alone, I am afraid, Sir, that the interests of British India will not only not advance, but to a very large extent be jeopardized. I am sure the Joint Parliamentary Committee will give its best consideration to the proposals contained in the Memorandum, that the powers of the Indian States representatives will be restricted so far as subjects affecting British India alone are concerned.

“ Even with regard to election to the Federal Legislature the Memorandum makes the proposal that direct election should be resorted to, instead of allowing indirect election as is proposed in the White Paper. They have very elaborately and very cogently argued in favour of direct election as opposed to indirect election adumbrated in the White Paper. With regard to the question of the powers of the Provincial Legislatures also, they have very definitely stated that there is no need for giving extraordinary powers to the Governors of Provinces even with regard to the minorities or the services. Sir Abdur Rahim in his note states emphatically that it is absolutely unnecessary to give Governors of Provinces any special powers or extraordinary powers for safeguarding the interests of the minorities and services, if those interests are safeguarded in the very Constitution itself.

“ With regard to the powers of the Ministers and with regard to the question of the transference of Law and Order, there is the danger of the Government and the Parliament succumbing to the protests and the agitation of the Diehards in England. I am afraid there is the danger of the Government making some distinction between Province and Province. It may be that there is some sort of terrorism in some parts of Bengal, and it is possible that because of that, in the new Constitution, Law and Order might not be transferred to the popular Ministers. I dare say that will be a dangerous thing for the Government to do. This will result in certain departments of the Government being regarded as antagonistic to the popular opinion and in being considered as an alien element in the administration of the Province. Therefore it is not advisable that the Joint Parliamentary Committee or Parliament itself should make an invidious distinction between Province and Province. I am sure that, when power is once transferred to the popular Ministers, it will be possible for them to control any movement which may be regarded as terrorist. We have seen in other Provinces, as well as in this Province, how Dyarchy has worked successfully; there has been perfect harmony in the Cabinet all along. So I fail to see any reason why this unity in the Cabinet should be disturbed.

“ So far as Federal subjects are concerned, unless financial responsibility is transferred fully to the people, I do not think any Indian would regard any transference of power as a real one at all. Unless we have fiscal responsibility transferred to the people of the country, I do not think any Constitution would be regarded as satisfactory. Sir Samuel Hoare himself in the course of his statement has said that no transfer of power can be real unless fiscal responsibility is transferred

14th March 1934]

[Mr. Abdul Hameed Khan]

to the people. Such being the case I hope that it will be possible for the Parliament to see that fiscal responsibility is transferred to the people.

“ Then the suggestion is to appoint a Financial Advisor. I hope it will be possible for the Parliament to see eye to eye with the Indian Delegation with regard to this matter, namely, that the Financial Advisor should be an Indian, and that he should be appointed from among the elected Members of the Federal Legislature. It seems the idea is to appoint a non-Indian and that too one who has not been elected to any of the Legislatures. If any such Financial Advisor is appointed, I am afraid there will be no real responsibility. Sir, as I said before, without financial responsibility, the responsibility that is sought to be given will be only a truncated responsibility. One other question that has been agitated by a very considerable section of the English people has been with regard to commercial discrimination. The Joint Memorandum has satisfactorily replied to that position. The signatories to that Memorandum have clearly stated that there is no need for any fear of that nature. When once real responsibility is given to the people of this country, the people will certainly recognize the necessity for continuing the friendship between England and India because the people of India believe that it will not be to their interests to break their friendship with the British people either politically or commercially. Therefore any such fear on the part of the Diehards has no foundation. But any safeguards in that respect will certainly not help to bring about that feeling and understanding which alone will be responsible for bringing about the result which is sought to be brought about by the Diehards themselves. In this connexion I may say that even in the Nehru Report, which is the report of the people belonging to Nationalistic school of thought, it has been clearly stated that nobody in this country is anxious that anything should be done which will be prejudicial to the British commercial interests who are carrying on their business lawfully in this country. Nothing will be done to seriously prejudice the interests of the commercial community, whether Indian or European.

11-30
a.m.

“ Now, Sir, I shall conclude by suggesting that it will be in the interests of both England and India if at least the recommendations of the Indian Delegation consisting of Hindus, Mussalmans and other communities, were accepted by the Joint Parliamentary Committee, as that is the minimum, the lowest minimum that any section of people of this country will be able to accept. No doubt, when once any Constitution is brought into existence, the people will come forward and try to work it; but, if the Government of Great Britain are anxious that the Constitution which they are anxious to introduce in this country should work satisfactorily and successfully, it should be the endeavour of the promoters or the persons who are concerned in the making of this Constitution to see that all those elements of friction which at present exist in the proposals contained in the White Paper are removed. If they are not removed, to the extent they continue to exist, I am afraid a very

[Mr. Abdul Hameed Khan]

[14th March 1934]

large section of the people of this country, the very large vocal section, will certainly not stand by the Constitution, but will continue to agitate as the introduction of a Constitution of this nature will not achieve any result which is sought to be achieved by its introduction."

* Rao Bahadur A. T. PANNIRSELVAM:—"Sir, in supporting the Joint Memorandum submitted to the Joint Parliamentary Committee by the Indian Delegation, I should like to begin with to urge the necessity for expediting the progress of Reforms. Sir, it is well over six years since the Simon Commission came over to this country. Since then we have been taken through various stages. We have had the Simon Commission, we have had the convening of the Round Table Conference, three sessions of which we have already had, and lastly we have had the Joint Select Committee, with the Indian Delegation. Agitations have been carried on in this country for all these six years, certain people in India always proclaiming that they were not satisfied with whatever proposals were put forward. Well, there has been an equally insistent section in England which has been agitating against the progress so far foreshadowed. There has been there what is termed the Diehard section which has availed itself of every possible method for educating public opinion in England as to the unfitness of this country for any sort of Self-Government, at least in the near future with the result that we here have been left in a very uncertain state of mind, uncertain as to exactly when the Reforms would come, uncertain again as to what those Reforms would be, whether those Reforms would be such as to satisfy the Indian opinion, whether they would be such as to induce the Indian people including the extreme section to satisfy themselves at least to the extent of giving a trial or whether even after the advent of the Reforms India will be kept in the same state in which there will be different warring sections among Indians themselves, the section which is for co-operation and the section which is against co-operation and so on. I am urging for a speedy disposal of the business, so that we might be sure as to where we stand, and the uncertainty which has been protracted for the last six years may come to an end. I should also like to urge in support of the Memorandum one other point and that is the necessity for the incorporation in the Statute itself the further stages of Constitutional progress of India. My object in doing this is that they should not have this doubt and hesitation through which we are now passing every time when Reforms are to be given, and that we may not have the same ordeal of another commission, another enquiry and a series of Round Table Conferences probably throwing everything into the hotch-pot and leaving us in absolute uncertainty as to the future and blocking progress in the meantime. That is why I think it is necessary to urge the need for a provision for future progress, so that we may be quite certain as to what our ultimate goal is, viz., Dominion Status or Self-Government.

"There is just one other point which I should like to refer to in regard to this matter and that is regarding the rights of minorities. I know that the White Paper has been very solicitous about the interests

14th March 1934] [Mr. A. T. Pannirselvam]

of minorities and that His Excellency the Viceroy and His Excellency the Governor have been invested with special powers of protecting the minorities. That comes in as one of the various safeguards on behalf of the minorities. I doubt if this will be the best method of securing the interests of minorities. Would it not have been better if the rights and privileges of minorities had been declared in specific and definite terms in the Act itself so that they may have no doubt as to their position and rights. I therefore suggest that their rights should be declared in the Statute itself and these must be protected by the Governor in cases where they are transgressed or invaded. I ask whether this would not be a proper course, instead of leaving the matter in the hands of the Governor and hoping that he will, on every occasion, rise equal to the occasion and put a stop to any invasion of those rights. Personally I should say that I would prefer these rights being incorporated in the Act itself by reason of the experiences which we of the minorities have had under the present Constitution. With the very best of intentions towards minorities, I believe that it would not be always possible for the Governor to come to their rescue. Even under the present Constitution, when the Governor is invested with much larger powers, the minorities have been driven to the necessity of ventilating their grievances, on more than one occasion, either in the Council Hall or outside. The trammels of office of the Governor and the defects of the Constitution may probably prevent the Governor from taking any personal action which he might otherwise like to take in safeguarding the interests of the minorities. I feel, Sir, that under the coming Reforms, with an autonomous Province and with a Ministry which is responsible to the House, the position of the Governor will be more a constitutional one and he will be less inclined to interfere with the activities of the Executive. Therefore, I feel, Sir, that the protection which is afforded to minorities in the nature of Governor's special powers will not give them the same guarantee which they would otherwise have, if their rights were incorporated in the Statute itself.

“ There is just one point on which I should like to express my dissent from the Joint Memorandum, viz., the necessity for Second Chambers in the Provinces. Personally I feel that any autonomous State would be better off for a Second Chamber and in the future Provinces which are to be autonomous and whose Governments are almost uncontrolled except by the advice of the Legislature, the need for a Second Chamber becomes all the greater. The usual arguments advanced in favour of a Second Chamber are too well known to need repetition. The need for well thought out legislation, the need for a revising chamber and the need, in fact, to act as a break on certain occasions is always felt. Talking of our own Province, without the least desire to cast any disparagement on the work of this Legislative Council, can we not recall instances of legislation, even under this limited Constitution, instances where, not long after the Act was passed, we had not regarded it as our own Act? I will only refer to the Local Boards and District Municipalities Act. It is only as recently as 1930 we went through a

[Mr. A. T. Pannirselvam] [14th March 1934]

11-45
a.m.

wholesale process of revising the constitution of municipalities and district boards. We inserted in it a provision whereby the president and chairman could be removed from office by a vote of no-confidence passed by the municipal council or the district board. Not very long after we found that that was a faulty piece of legislation and by an amending Act we took away those untrammelled powers from the hands of local bodies and vested them with restricted powers. Recently we have found the necessity of once again recasting the Local Boards Act and the Municipal Act. Again, Sir, with regard to tolls, we thought we had reached the millennium when the Bill abolishing tolls was passed, but almost since the Act was passed, we have been regretting the abolition of tolls. I am referring to these instances merely to show how even under this limited Constitution where we have to obtain the previous sanction of the Governor or the Governor-General for our Bills, we have passed hasty legislation. When such is the case, what would be the position under the new Constitution when the Provincial Government will be autonomous and free from outside control and therefore can pass any legislation it pleases at a moment's notice? The need and urgency for a Second Chamber which will act as a check on hasty legislation, revise it, if need be, or remit it back to the First Chamber, are very great. A Second Chamber of the description I have given, it seems to me, will not be a superfluity at all. Therefore, with this one reservation on the question of a Second Chamber, I lend my whole-hearted support to the Joint Memorandum submitted to the Parliamentary Committee by the Indian Delegation."

* Mr. DANIEL THOMAS:—"Mr. President, Sir, there is one point about which all sections of opinion in this House as well as outside in the country are unanimous and that is the urgent need for the early introduction of the new Reforms Scheme. There is a proverb that hope deferred maketh the heart sick. I may say, Sir, that the heart of the Indian peoples are growing very sick indeed at the delay and the tardiness with which the new Reforms Scheme is being worked out in England. I am told by my hon. Friend here that the nominated Members may not agree with me, but I am sure that the nominated Members have a keen sense of progress and are truly patriotic enough to agree that there is urgent necessity for the speedy introduction of the Reforms Scheme. I am confident there is not one nominated Member in this Council who will not be able to win the suffrages of the people when all the seats in the Council are thrown open to election.

"The next point on which I should like to say a few words is the 'dual policy' of the Government of India. Over and over again the Government of India have said that their object was to do everything in their power to maintain Law and Order and put down the Civil Disobedience movement on the one hand and on the other hand to promote the progressive realization of responsible Government in this country. I may say, Sir, that during the last two years the first part of this policy of the Government has been eminently successful and at the present time Law and Order has been supremely vindicated throughout the

14th March 1934]

[Mr. Daniel Thomas]

country. But at the same time, the Government should not be forgetful of the other policy which has been asserted with equal fervour and that is the progressive realization of Self-Government, Dominion Government for this country. I am afraid that, of late, the tendency in this direction as can be gathered from the trend of events is not quite reassuring. It appears—I hope and trust it may not be true—that the Government of India having secured the success of one part of the policy is not now so keen or so enthusiastic as it was at any rate, as regards the other part of the policy, namely, the early introduction of the new Reforms.

“ With reference to the actual proposals in the White Paper and the Memorandum submitted to the Joint Parliamentary Committee by the Indian Delegation, I want to say a few words. If in the new Constitution there is going to be any reservation with regard to the transfer of Law and Order, I am sure, Sir, that the country as a whole would rather prefer to go back to the pre-Reform days rather than have a Constitution with Law and Order reserved. Because that would mean that, in spite of all these years of Dyarchy, the people of the country and the statesmen of the country are so backward as not to be entrusted with the administration of Law and Order. It would be a blot on the Indian escutcheon and rather than have such a stain on us, we would prefer not to have any Reforms at all with the reservation of Law and Order. As has been pointed out in the Memorandum to the Joint Parliamentary Committee, Law and Order is not a thing which can be separated and isolated from the other departments of the Government. It is not like a thing which a scientist can analyse and separate into various parts. It is not capable of being dealt with by a microscope in isolation. The subject of Law and Order is intimately connected with all the other subjects. As has been pointed out, in Bengal and in the Punjab and may be in other Provinces, any action taken in connexion with Law and Order has its reactions and repercussions on all the other subjects which are transferred to Ministers. This is an additional reason why the subject of Law and Order should not be reserved.

“ I want to say a few words with regard to the institution of a Second Chamber in the Provinces. This question has been receiving very great attention and has been discussed at length in the country. I believe the large majority of people are against a Second Chamber. We have the history of the English people before us and we know that time and again there have been many conflicts between the House of Lords and the House of Commons. Such conflicts and crises have been got over only by the innate good sense and the spirit of compromise of the Englishman. After all the compromise between the House of Lords and the House of Commons has been effected only by making the House of Lords for all practical purposes an absolutely powerless body. It has been called a gilded Chamber of invalids and therefore for all practical purposes, the House of Lords is not playing any real part in the evolution of English political life. We do not want such a mistake to be repeated in India. On the other hand, if the Second Chamber is to be a really effective and powerful body, there is likely to be friction between

[Mr. Daniel Thomas]

[14th March 1934]

the two Chambers. Especially at a time when we are going to launch a new scheme of Reforms, the success or failure of which will be keenly watched by friends and foes alike, we should carefully avoid adding anything to the Constitution which is likely to create friction and conflicts. It has been said that the First Chamber might pass hasty legislation which would require revision. It has been pointed out that even in this very Council there have been occasions when we have passed hasty legislation, which in the light of after-events had to be revised. In such cases, it is open to the single Chamber itself to judge whether revision is necessary or not in the light of subsequent events. Just as this Council revised its own measures when occasion required it, the future Councils also may be trusted to do the same. It would be much safer to leave this revisionary work also to the Chamber which passes the original legislation, if in the light of after events it thinks that revision is necessary. The tendency will be for a responsible body like the Provincial Council not to readily agree that revision is necessary merely because the defects are pointed out by an outside body, although later on it may be willing to agree that revision is necessary. That is nothing but human nature: things done by oneself are taken to be correct and one is not too ready to listen to directions from outside sources. I think therefore that in the interests of the future political development, harmonious working is necessary and it would be much safer to have a single Chamber especially for Madras. Of course conditions in other Provinces may be different, and whether Second Chambers are or are not necessary in the other Provinces, I am sure the people of those Provinces and the responsible statesmen there will discuss and decide for themselves. But so far as Madras is concerned, this is a Province in which we have been priding ourselves as being the vanguard of political progress and we can surely set an example of a single Chamber Constitution working satisfactorily.

“ I want to say a few words with regard to the representation of the Indian Christian community in the new Councils. During the last budget session, the Council, on the motion of Mr. Sreshta passed an almost unanimous resolution with regard to the inadequacy of the representation of Indian Christians in the new Legislatures. I hope and trust that the authorities will give due consideration to the claims of the Indian Christian community in this matter.”

* MR. M. S. SRESHTA:—“ Mr. President, Sir, I shall not deal with the three questions involved in this cut motion as they have been ably discussed by other Members and as I do not wish to tax the patience of the House. I shall confine my remarks to the question of the representation of the Indian Christian community in this Council. It has been a great grievance of the Indian Christian community that they have been ignored both by the majority community and by the other minority communities in this matter. Whereas the Muslim community has got an increase of about 300 per cent and whereas the Depressed Classes are getting similar increase, the Indian Christian community is

14th March 1934]

[Mr. M. S. Sreshta]

not getting much of an increase in the new Council. Our present number is 7, 5 elected and 2 nominated; but the two nominated Members happen to be members of the Depressed Classes. But from the time when the Depressed Class members have been nominated to this Council, two at least have been Indian Christians. But in the new Constitution no member of the Depressed Classes would be Christians. The result would be that we shall have to depend entirely on election for proper representation of our community. At the present moment we have 7 Indian Christian Members in this Council. This number has been increased to 9. I think it will be quite clear from the figures I gave in my speech made on the 23rd March last year, that the number allotted to our community is quite inadequate. How it has happened that our community has been given this small number is very difficult to understand. It has been recognized that minorities should have weightage given to them. Whether it is right that minorities should be given any special representation or not, whether they should be given weightage or not, is not a matter which can be reopened and decided. In the old constitutions of the world there was no special representation for minorities. The Great War demonstrated the necessity for giving proper representation to minorities in various countries. But since the Great War and since the League of Nations has been constituted, minorities are given special consideration. In the States of Czechoslovakia and in the other new States formed after the Great War, it has been recognized that racial, religious and linguistic minorities should be given not only proper representation but also weightage. They are given special consideration not only in politics but also in the matter of education. In these States I have referred to, wherever forty pupils of a minority community require a separate school to be established for them it is established as early as possible. Not only that; when an application has been made and if no decision has been given within a certain period, say, one or two months, an appeal lies to the League of Nations. It will be seen therefore how the rights of minorities have been conceded after the Great War; and it stands to reason that the same principle should be applied to minorities in this country. That this should be so, is not denied; this principle has been applied in the case of Muslims. I am not envious of them; this principle has been applied in the case of the Depressed Classes. But this principle has not been applied in the case of Indian Christians. It may perhaps be due to the fact that only two Indian Christians were at the Round Table Conference and as they held entirely opposite views on many matters they were not able to achieve anything. But it is a great credit to the Indian Christian community that they ignore themselves as a minority community and think of bigger questions. It is rather a hard lot that our community—because we want to be cosmopolitan or liberal—is entirely ignored. According to the recommendation of the Madras Franchise Committee, the number allotted to the Indian Christian community is 11; the Madras Government reduced it to 10; when it went to the British Parliament, this number was reduced to 9. Whereas the Muslim community at every stage got an increased number, whereas the

[Mr. M. S. Sreshta]

[14th March 1934]

Depressed Classes also got increased representation every time, our community got less and less number each time. Whatever error was made with regard to the Muslim community was corrected by the Communal Award. In the case of the Depressed Classes also, they did not at first get the number wanted but this was corrected by the Poona Pact; but in our case neither the Government nor a Poona Pact came to our help.

“ This question was raised on the floor of this House on the 23rd March last year; then I pointed out that our community had not been properly and equitably treated. I shall not repeat all the arguments I then gave; but to the great credit of this House there was a unanimous resolution passed that we should get the number we wanted, namely, eleven at least. One Member of the Indian Christian community said that the number should be 15. There was no objection raised to this resolution. As I said, it was unanimously passed. In the Communal Award it was stated that the decision arrived at by that Award should not be varied except with the consent of all communities concerned. That is the reason why the number of representatives of the Depressed Classes was increased as a result of the Poona Pact. I should like to point out that the unanimous resolution of this Council is equivalent to the consent of all the parties and interests affected. I think the Members of this House feel that they should not stand in the way of justice being done to the Christian community. I should like to point out to the Government in all earnestness that they should consider this resolution as equivalent to the consent of all the interests affected to increase the number of representatives of the Indian Christian community. I believe representations were made by the Indian Christians to various bodies, to the Round Table Conference and to Parliament. Many of these representations were sent through the Madras Government. I should be glad if the Hon. Member in charge will in his reply state what exactly the Madras Government did in this matter.

“ I wish to bring home to the Members of this House to-day the desirability of supporting my motion. Muslims have now got 29 members as against 13 they formerly had. That is much more than double the present number. As against 11 which the Depressed Classes have now got they are going to get 30. But we are only getting an increase from 7 to 9 members. Is it possible for the Indian Christian community to be properly represented with only 9 members? I wish to refer to another point in this connexion. I think it is the policy of the Government to see that the electorate is small. If the whole Presidency is to be represented by 9 members of the Indian Christian community, a number of districts will have to be represented by one man. The result is the member has to go to many districts to find out the needs of the people and it is a very difficult matter. I think there should be a minimum. Nine members for the large number of districts we have got is absolutely inadequate. That is another consideration that has to be taken into account. I trust the Hon. the Revenue Member will kindly consider the arguments adduced by me now and on the last occasion I spoke on this matter and see that justice is done to our

14th March 1934]

[Mr. M. S. Sreshta,]

community, and that every possible step is taken to get out representations considered favourably. No doubt we want the new Reforms to be expedited. I am at one with hon. Members in urging that the new Constitution should be given to us as early as possible. But what is the advantage of a new Constitution with an act of injustice at the very start? I say, 'let the Constitution come.' You know, Sir, what power we have in this House. We, the Members of the Indian Christian community, feel that we are an utter minority and that we have no voice whatever in any important matter. Whatever we want, we cannot claim as a matter of right; we have to beg for them. Even under the new Constitution we will be in the same position as we are now. Therefore, I trust that, while the new Constitution is expedited, steps are taken to remove this blot from the new Constitution and to see that our community gets justice which it requires."

Mr. BASHEER AHMED SAYEED:—"Mr. President, Sir, the question with which we are concerned to-day is not the details of the White Paper proposals, nor the details of any other Constitution that is going to be given to us by the British Government. We have already discussed at great length the proposals contained in the White Paper and we have expressed our view that in many respects they are very unsatisfactory. Particularly with regard to the safeguards we have stated unequivocally that they are not consistent with the best interests of India; nor are they consistent with the real transference of power from the British tax-payer to the Indian tax-payer. But what we are directly concerned with to-day, particularly at this stage after the three Round Table Conferences and after several sessions of the Joint Parliamentary Committee, is the delay that is caused by the Constitution-Makers. Six years have already elapsed ever since the programme began. Now our interest is to make the Government realize the danger in further delaying the new Constitution. There are instances where Constitutions have been brought into existence within a shorter time than what is taken now by the Government in the present case. We have before us the example of the Ceylon Constitution; how quickly it was conceived and how quickly it was given effect to need not be reiterated now and here. If the Government are really serious and sincere that the discontent must be allayed, there should be no more delay and no more suspense in the minds of the people; they should usher in the Constitution very quickly. There is one great impediment which seems to trouble the Government. But I submit that we are not concerned with that impediment very much. What we urge now is 'let the Government give us Provincial Autonomy thereby meaning complete Self-Government so far as the Provinces are concerned; then the idea of Federation may be considered at a later stage. The idea of Federation seems to be a great obstacle; that is the main cause, I believe, for the delay in ushering in the new Constitution. I do not think the idea of Federation has been well conceived so far as this country is concerned. I would therefore reiterate on this occasion that the idea of Federation between the British Provinces and the States must be given up and that a Federation should be started so far as the British Provinces are concerned. To-day in the

[Mr. Basheer Ahmed Sayeed]

[14th March 1934]

12-15
p.m.

Provinces there are circumstances and factors which go to make up for a Federation; it is open to the Government to bring about a Federation of the British Provinces; there are circumstances which will justify the speedy organization of a Federal Constitution so far as the British Provinces are concerned. In short, my point is that the British Government should try here and now the experiment of Federation of the British Provinces and then leave it open to the States to have a Federal Constitution for the British Provinces and the States. That is an easy way of solving the problem. I am sure the report of the debates here on this point will be sent to the Secretary of State and that the Government themselves here will take some steps to expedite this matter. What I am anxious to know on this occasion is whether the Hon. the Revenue Member, who is in charge of this subject, is in the know of anything at all, whether this Government are in a position to say anything with regard to the programme which the British Government have in view with regard to the new Constitution, at any rate with regard to the question of Autonomy to be given to the Provinces; that is what we are concerned with vitally to-day. We want that, whatever might be the position so far as this Province is concerned, so far as the main issues of the Indian Constitution go, something definite should be known to us as early as possible. Already the life of this Council has been extended by one year, and we understand that the Assembly is going to be dissolved in the month of April. If that is true, it is not really in the interests of the public and the tax-payer, nor is it in the interests of the Government. It is not proper that a Council that was constituted for a period of three years should be extended indefinitely and that things should be so adjusted that one or two more elections are to take place before the new Constitution comes into existence.

" There is another factor which seems to be in the way of the new Constitution coming into existence early. That is: there has been no agreement between the majority and the minority communities in the country. If only the old experiment of 1919 had been tried and if the majority and minority communities had come to an understanding on that basis and submitted a scheme, probably all this delay could have been avoided. I would therefore appeal to the majority community that, having already lost enough time, they should not lose any further time, but come to some understanding with the minority communities, and put forward before the Government a joint scheme which will not give room to the British Government to make any further delay.

" As for the claims of the Christians which have been so ably advocated by my Friend from South Kanara and the Member for Central districts (Christian), I do not have any objection at all. It is open to them to agitate and get whatever they want. But the proportion that has been given to them shows that they are sufficiently represented. So far as the Indian Christian community is concerned, I think their representation is enough and more than required. So far as the Christians are concerned, we have the European Christians, we have

14th March 1934]

[Mr. Basheer Ahmed Sayeed]

the planters and so many others; if all the Christians are taken together, I am sure they will outnumber the Muslims; there is no doubt about that. But historical events and historical facts cannot be ignored. All the same, I have the least objection, and my community will have the least objection, to the Christians getting an equal proportion with us or even more. It is all left to them to get whatever they want.

“ I shall refer to one more point and be done. I want to know from the Government in a definite and categorical manner whether they have been taken into confidence by the British Government, whether they know of any programme which will give us an idea as to when we can reasonably expect the new Constitution to be brought into existence, and what the form and shape of it in a rough manner would be.”

* Mr. C. BASU DEV:—“ Mr. President, Sir, I am grateful to you for giving me this opportunity to make a few observations on the future constitution. I shall try and confine myself mainly to the question of representation of labour and leave the bigger issues to the constitutional pandits among whom, by the way, there is great confusion and disagreement.

“ Before I say anything further, I may tell my hon. Friend, Mr. Sreshta, that whatever may be the adequacy or inadequacy of the representation in the future Councils of the Indian Christian community, the advocacy of their claims has not been inadequate in this House. Mr. Pannirselvam started it, and was strongly supported by Mr. Daniel Thomas and Mr. Sreshta.

“ Sir, a good deal of criticism has been levelled against the Government for the delay in the inauguration of the new Reforms; and most of the blame is evidently sought to be put upon the British Government. I would like to ask hon. Members of this House, who is really responsible for this delay? Sir John Simon came out with his proposals some years ago, but the Indian politicians discarded the substance of his proposals for the satisfaction of a sentiment. It is now an admitted fact that the proposals of Sir John Simon in certain respects went far beyond the proposals that have emanated from the long discussions at the three Round Table Conferences. Even at the second Round Table Conference, when there was an opportunity to clinch matters and obtain the maximum instalment of Reforms, that strange combination of a saint and politician, Mahatma Gandhi, stood in the way. To-day, Sir, we are in no better position. On the other hand, thanks to our politicians and to their ever-shifting and interminable discussions we are positively in a worse position. I should like to know if there is going to be any finality to the discussions on the new Reforms. This morning I heard Mr. Yahya Ali pleading for the simultaneous introduction of responsibility in the Provincial and Central Legislatures, while Mr. Basheer Ahmed stated just now that it is far better to have responsibility in the provinces first and think of Federation afterwards. I think unless we make up our minds to leave the whole question of new reforms in the hands of the British Government and the British statesmen, we

[Mr. C. Basu Dev]

[14th March 1934]

cannot blame the Government for the delay. Mr. Basheer Ahmed asked the Government to come forward with the Reforms; but he has not assured the Government that whatever those Reforms may be, he would not obstruct the working of those Reforms. Gentlemen who speak well, emphatically and eloquently about the need for expediting the Reforms are not prepared to give the assurance that they will co-operate in the working of those Reforms.

"I do not want to say anything further on this matter, except to refer to one or two notable converts in this House as regards the proposals contained in the White Paper. Mr. Venkatarama Ayyar, while discussing the White Paper on the floor of this House vehemently denounced the safeguards, yet he was the first perhaps, during the discussion on the Estates Land Act (Amending) Bill to invoke the aid of the very safeguards he denounced and sought and still seeks to get the Governor veto that Bill. My friend, Mr. Hameed Khan, again who was against a Second Chamber became later a convert in favour of that institution."

Mr. ABDUL HAMEED KHAN:—"On a matter of personal explanation, Mr. President, I never said that I was in favour of a Second Chamber; I have already explained that what my friend stated on a former occasion was not correct, and I do not know why he should persist in saying it now."

Mr. C. BASU DEV:—"If my friend, Mr. Hameed Khan, will read the report of his own speech in the Proceedings, I am sure he will not contradict me. Any way, I do not want to pursue that matter any further."

"Coming now to the question of Labour representation under the new Reforms, I do not want to bargain with the Government and say that the number they have given us is inadequate. I would certainly very much wish and my friends both here and outside who sympathize with the worker also wish that there should be more seats allotted to Labour. But whatever it is, the workers are very much left in doubt and anxiety as to the constituencies which will be called upon to select their representatives, and as to the qualifications which will be prescribed for their representatives. Sir, labour movement has been in existence in this country for the last fifteen years, and from my knowledge of that movement and of the workers, I am satisfied that there are among the workers, men capable enough to assume the responsibilities of representatives of the cause of labour in the Councils. I would therefore strongly urge on the attention of those responsible for the new Constitution that they should take into their serious consideration the need for prescribing qualifications for the candidates so as to confine them to the ranks of the workers. However able people like my friend here Mr. Ramaswami Mudaliyar, and myself may represent the workers, the workers have now realized the great need for one of their own men to represent them and their cause. Labour has sufficiently been exploited by the intelligent outsider to his own profit and it would be cruel to allow this exploitation to go on. If I have time, I would unfold harrowing

14th March 1934]

[Mr. C. Basu Dev]

tales of how the worker is bled white by the intelligent and educated exploiter. If labour is to come into its own, it should have in the Councils men from its own ranks. Again, with regard to the constituencies we do not know whether they are going to be regional or vocational constituencies. I think, Sir, in the circumstances now existing in this country, territorial constituency is the only feasible and proper proposition. I would, therefore, strongly urge the formation of territorial constituencies."

* Rao Sahib N. SIVA RAJ:—"Mr. President, Sir, Mr. Daniel Thomas in starting the discussion on this subject, suggested that every Member of this House, whether nominated or elected, and every Member of the public was very keen on the acceleration of the Reforms. I fear, Sir, that while it may be true in some cases, the indifferent attention that is paid to the debate by the Members of this House to-day, and the thinness of the House at the present moment give the lie direct to that suggestion. Probably there is another reason: that is, that people are tired of asking for Reforms and of knocking at the door of the Government. If that be so, I hope it is only a temporary lapse. Assuming, however, that the public generally are keen about accelerating the Reforms and that we in this House are keen on suggesting improvements to the White Paper, I still am afraid this is not the proper stage to do that. We have reached a certain stage, sufficiently advanced, when the whole thing has passed out of the hands of the Indian Nation and is now in the hands of His Majesty's Government. As it is, we find that Mr. Churchill has come out again with an attack on the White Paper itself; while the Secretary of State and His Majesty's Government are trying to make out the best case they can for India as against that growing opposition in the conservative ranks. I sincerely feel that it is time that the Indians as a whole, without going into the very many details that would certainly improve the White Paper, helped the Secretary of State at the present moment in trying to get what he can from the Conservatives themselves. There are very many useful suggestions that could be made to improve the proposals contained in the White Paper. As a matter of fact, in the very many eloquent and instructive speeches that have been made so far, we find that very useful suggestions have been conveyed. I feel, however, that at this stage, any suggestion to make ought to take the form of a recommendation in order to help His Majesty's Government and the Secretary of State in trying to get what we want for India.

"So far as the question of representation of the minority communities and of the Depressed Classes in particular is concerned, we are not yet sure that what is supposed to have been achieved by the Poona Pact is really going to benefit our community. That is still a matter of doubt. Every one knows that the Poona Pact was brought into existence during a peculiar crisis, and it still bears the impress of that crisis. My own feeling is that, even though I was one of the signatories to that Pact, the time has now come when we should take stock of the whole position and try to recast that Pact so as at least to suit the conditions obtaining in this Presidency. I was very much disappointed to see

[Mr. N. Siva Raj]

[14th March 1934]

that on the question of the Temple-entry Bill, the opinion in our Province was so overwhelmingly against it; and it is time that we thought of revising the Poona Pact itself. Still for the present, I feel that our discussions here, while they show a good knowledge of constitutional principles on the part of Members of this House, are not going to be of much practical use at the present moment."

12-30
p.m.

* Dr. P. SUBBARAYAN:—"Mr. President, Sir, I am most thankful to you and to the House for having taken up this motion for discussion; because this is the only opportunity the Council would have of discussing the White Paper proposals and the Joint Memorandum of the British Indian Delegation. I am glad, Sir, that the Hon. Members who have spoken before me have supported the Joint Memorandum; and the fact that this motion was proposed by one Mussalman Gentleman of this House and supported by another Mussalman Gentleman shows at least in this respect that we, Indians, are united in our demands with regard to future constitutional progress. I believe this resolution was further supported by my hon. Friend, Mr. Pannirselvam, who represents a Christian constituency and has spoken in the same way as other members of his community have done. I am told by my hon. Friend from Coimbatore (Rao Bahadur T. A. Ramalingam Chettiayar) that almost all of them belong to the minority communities. This shows that the minorities are at least agreed that the Joint Memorandum is a concerted production of the British Indian Delegation and the Council as a whole is willing to support that Memorandum. Mr. President, it should also be made clear that this Memorandum is not a hasty Memorandum drawn up by what people call 'agitators.' On the other hand, the Memorandum has been signed at the head by His Highness the Aga Khan, whose claim to represent not only the Muslim community but the whole of India has been recognized by many conferences held in this country after he came back from his labours at the Joint Select Committee. Mr. President, the House will bear with me when I read out some of the passages in the Joint Memorandum which will go to show that the claim made by the Authors of the Joint Memorandum are the minimum that will allay public opinion in this country and satisfactorily solve the Constitutional problem as it stands to-day. The Memorandum first begins by quoting the declarations of His Majesty's Prime Minister at the end of the first Round Table Conference which was affirmed afterwards by the National Government:

'The view of His Majesty's Government is that responsibility for the Government of India should be placed upon the legislatures—Central and Provincial—with such provisions as may be necessary to guarantee, during a period of transition, the observance of certain obligations and to meet other special circumstances, and also with such guarantees as are required by minorities to protect their political liberties and rights.

'In such statutory safeguards as may be made for meeting the needs of the transitional period, it will be a primary concern of His Majesty's Government to see that the reserved powers are so framed and exercised as not to prejudice the advance of India through the new constitution to full responsibility for her own Government.'

Therefore, what the Members of the Indian Delegation had in mind was to carry out the declaration of His Majesty's Government and to

14th March 1934]

[Dr. P. Subbarayan]

see that no impediment was placed by the new Constitution in the path of India's progressing to her final goal, that of Dominion Status. One of the requests that the British Indian Delegation has made is that, as was done in the preamble to the Government of India Act, in the preamble to present Act, there should be a statement that the natural issue of India's Constitutional progress is the attainment of Dominion Status and they pointed out that they were not going far from the declaration that was made in the year 1921 on the solemn occasion of the opening of the new Central Legislature. This is the message of His Majesty the King Emperor conveyed by His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught at the time:

'For years, it may be for generations, patriotic and loyal Indians have dreamed of Swaraj for their Motherland. To-day, you have beginnings of Swaraj within my Empire, and widest scope and ample opportunity for progress to the liberty which my other Dominions enjoy.'

Therefore, it is plain that the British Indian Delegation did not ask for anything more than had been repeatedly promised by His Majesty's Government and the declaration made by His Majesty's representative. It has been stated that in the matter of the reserved subjects, that is, the Army, Ecclesiastical Department and other subjects, the safeguards should be such as should not impede the progress of India to Dominion Status. As has been stated by the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for India, the Prime Minister and Mr. Baldwin, we want the Indianization of the Army, in consonance with the safety and security of India, to be made as rapidly as possible because ultimately the attainment of Dominion Status will depend upon the rapid Indianization of the Army. The Delegation therefore proposed that methods should be adopted which would procure that ultimate goal of the Indianization of the Army within the next quarter of a century. They proposed that the Army Counsellor should be a non-official Indian, preferably an elected Member of the Federal Legislature, or one of the representatives of the Indian States in the Federal Legislature. There should be a definite programme of Indianization with reference to a time-limit, say, of twenty or twenty-five years, and one of the primary duties of the Army Counsellor should be the provision for training of Indian Officers for the programme of Indianization. I think in these two paragraphs they put in a nutshell the reasons why the Counsellor in charge of the Army portfolio should be an Indian. The reason they adduce is that if an Indian is in charge of the Army he will get into touch with the Federal Minister and be able to tell His Excellency the Viceroy what the feelings of the representatives in the Legislature are in regard to Indianization of the Army and also try to co-ordinate the work of the Army Department in order to make rapid Indianization possible. They go on to say with regard to the Financial Adviser, who is to be appointed to advise His Excellency the Viceroy, that he should be appointed in consultation with the Federal Finance Minister for the reason that the Financial Adviser should not only advise His Excellency the Viceroy but he should also be the Financial Adviser of the whole Government so that his advice would be available on all matters to the Federal Finance Minister. Also there should be no clash between

[Dr. P. Subbarayan]

[14th March 1934]

His Excellency the Viceroy and the Federal Government in the matter of safeguarding the financial interest of India. They have also pointed out that the debt of India is such that it is secured and it would be in the interest of the Federal Government itself to see that there is no financial breakdown and that everything should be done to put the credit of India on a fairly substantial basis, so that the financial credit which is enjoyed by the present Government of India would continue to be enjoyed by the future Federal Governments. I believe some of my friends have talked about safeguards and I can do no better than to quote Mr. Baldwin. Mr. Baldwin, speaking before a meeting of the Lancashire, Cheshire and Westmoreland Provincial area of the National Union of Conservative and Unionist Associations said:

‘There has been a great talk about safeguards. All the safeguards are being examined by the Joint Select Committee, but whatever safeguards we have, the real safeguard is the maintenance of goodwill. If there is not a basis of goodwill, your trade will eventually wither away, and I regret to say that some of the measures which have been suggested, and which Lancashire people have been asked to support, have, in my judgment been calculated to destroy rather than to further any possibility of that goodwill between Lancashire and India which we can get, which we ought to get, and which cannot do without Whatever a Government may do, you cannot prevent a population nowadays, and especially an Oriental as opposed to an Occidental population, if it considers it has been unjustly treated, from expressing its feelings by refusing to buy goods. The refusal to buy goods, commonly called a boycott, had been brought to a fine art in the East. The Japanese have experienced in China what a boycott means. We have some experience of what it means in India. The causes of the boycott were more than one. The moment the economic condition gets better and the buying power returns, that moment there will be more trade. Besides, that there came in the political elements—and for a time they were a strong force. But that boycott has died away, and it has died away under the double influence of firm Government, but, as I believe still more by a conviction in the minds of the Indians themselves that we were going to deal honourably with them and keep our word about getting on with the Reforms. The moral aspect of that question helped to break the boycott as much as, if not more than, any question of force.’

“I think, Mr. President, Mr. Baldwin has put the case as forcibly as can be put by any hon. Member of this House. Why was the boycott taken off? It is the faith in the word of His Majesty’s Government that India will get substantial advance in the matter of Reforms and that she will be put on the safest landing towards Dominion Status, for which responsible Indians have been working for and if anything happens and the Die-hard elements get power to whittle down the White Paper Constitution and make it a mere shadow of Self-Government and not the substance, then the whole trouble will begin again and as Mr. Baldwin has warned the question of other methods for the attainment of India’s constitutional progress will be attempted. The British Indian Delegation had adduced perfectly sound reasons why such amendments should be made in the constitution as would make it acceptable to public opinion in this country. I am sure the Hon. the Revenue Member, who is in charge of the Reforms Portfolio, would forward the opinion of this Council on this matter to His Majesty’s Government with the discussions thereon and point out that Indian opinion will not be satisfied unless the White Paper is amended at least to the extent put forward by the British Indian Delegation to the Joint Select Committee.

14th March 1934]

[Dr. P. Subbarayan]

“ Of course my friends have spoken on minority representation and Mr. Sivaraj especially referred to the question of the Poona Pact. When the Poona pact was entered into, as Mr. Sivaraj pointed out, there was certainly a national crisis and we, caste-Hindus, are thankful to the members of the Depressed Classes for having helped in the solution of the great problem at that stage by accepting the pact. But evidently my hon. Friends belonging to the Depressed Classes are getting dissatisfied with the progress that is being made with regard to their grievances, especially in the matter of temple-entry. I believe Mr. Sivaraj referred to the question that the majority of Hindus in this province are against temple-entry. I am sorry for such a state of things; and certainly I agree with him. If this is the way that members of the Hindu community are going to treat Depressed Classes, they have every right—and I shall be on their side—to get out of the Hindu community and call themselves a separate community. (An hon. Member:—‘No.’) My hon. Friend says, ‘no.’ May I ask what he has done during these two years for solving this problem? It is all right for the caste-Hindus to cry ‘no’ when this question is raised, but when it comes to the question of practical application, they go inside their doors and say ‘the orthodox do not like it; our women do not like it; our purohits do not like it and such like things and therefore we shall not have it.’ (Hear, hear.) Is this the way in which we are going to solve the problem of the future constitutional progress of this country? If that is so, I would far rather join Mr. Churchill and say that this country does not deserve Reforms. (Hear, Hear.) Mr. President, I am speaking on the basis that we, as a whole nation, feel that we want to govern ourselves. We want to lift ourselves in the eyes of the world as a self-respecting nation and at the same time we are going to prove to the world that the minorities are not going to be crushed by the majority in power. On the other hand, we are going to prove to the world at large that our constitution would be so worked as to make the minorities really feel that they are one of us and that their interests are safeguarded and that if there is Self-Government, it is Self-Government for every one of India’s sons, whether Muslim, Christian, Untouchable, European or any other, as long as he is an Indian. What we want is real Self-Government—Self-Government on the basis of equal rights and equal opportunities for all communities—and I believe the Memorandum of the British Indian Delegation does go a long way towards the achievement of this object. (Cheers and applause.) ”

* Rao Bahadur Sir A. P. PATRO:—“ Mr. President, Sir, after the eloquent words uttered by the hon. the Leader of the Opposition, I do not think I will be able to rouse as much enthusiasm as he has done. This righteous indignation against the caste people treating certain parts of the community with contempt really deserves our attention. Surely, if this ideal is reached, if the far reaching ideal which was portrayed to us in such eloquent terms by the hon. Leader of the Opposition is to be attained, no one would be behind him in this matter of working the principle. Nobody is working for it better than the one person to whom

12-45
p.m.

[Sir A. P. Patro]

[14th March 1934]

the whole world is looking with anxious attention as to what the result he would achieve. By his soul force, he may be able to convert millions and millions of the people of this country. I wish him all success. I wish him God-speed. There are other practical questions to be faced. There are people who are accustomed to do their day to day work and they may not find it easy to respond to the call as they may feel that the traditions of the past might be snapped and that there are some other customs of the nation, which in a single moment we cannot change by the magic-wand. You cannot convert the whole country into a land of philosophy and a land of equality. Surely, that is an ideal which every one should aim at, but it is an ideal after all.

“ Sir, the hon. the Leader of the Opposition stated that all those who have spoken before him, have dealt with the subject that is now before the House, as to the need for supporting the Joint Memorandum submitted by the Indian Delegation to the Joint Parliamentary Committee on the Indian Constitutional Reforms. Very few speakers before me referred to it. Every one in India who has given any thought to the subject will agree that the proposals in the White Paper require improvement; at any rate, as has been pointed out by my hon. Friend, Mr. Basheer Ahmed Sayeed Sahib, the proposals are unsatisfactory in many ways and they require to be improved in some directions. There is no question about that. The only difference of opinion is, in what direction these improvements should be made and in what way those suggestions should be worked out—that is the main difference. It is not that the die-hards of the Churchill group are opposed to the Indian Reforms. In fact they are not. All that they want to see is in what direction improvements should take place consistent with the promises made by British statesmen. If you read the White Paper proposals through and through, you will find, Sir, that there can be no difference of opinion that they make a great advance on the present position and greater than some think and that they will place India on the way to real full Responsible Self-Government. It is for preparing us for that ideal that the White Paper proposals are intended. In the evidence which the Secretary of State for India has given, you will find throughout the high statesmanlike manner in which he has dealt with the subject. In his evidence consisting of three big volumes, he has given the principles on which the future British Indian Constitution is to be based. He has adhered to everything that has been stated in the White Paper which will place India on the way to full Responsible Self-Government. He has not minced matters. He has realized the difficulties that are in our way. Realizing those difficulties, at the same time, he has made suggestions for solving those difficulties. It is not merely raising difficulties, but suggestions have been made by him for solving those difficulties in the admirable and the inimitable way in which he has answered all the questions raised by the die-hards I may not be considered a bad prophet if I say that in the Parliament, it must not be a very difficult thing for the British Government to be able to carry out the proposals of the White Paper, in spite of the Churchill and other groups that might be making noise against the White Paper.

14th March 1934]

[Sir A. P. Patro]

We have faith in the integrity and the honesty of purpose of the British Nation and the British Nation is not going to go back upon the declarations of their statesmen:

“Sir, the hon. the Leader of the Opposition read from quotations made in the Joint Committee Report. There are other quotations in the Memorandum of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. He has gone into the details of the promises and assurances made by British statesmen from time to time. What Dominion Status means in regard to India no one can define at present. So far as India is concerned, we cannot visualize what kind of Dominion Status India could achieve. All that I can say is that there are certain principles which control and guide the administration of Dominions to-day and those can be adopted without any difficulty in India and we claim that as Dominion Status. With regard to Dominion Status as they have got in their own Constitution, it is very difficult to imagine when that form of Constitution would come in, because there is the question of Federation. Now, the Dominions have a different kind of Federation from the one we are aiming at. It is a colossal problem. In India we have several States independent of the British Government. They owe their allegiance to the British Crown; and the provinces are subordinate to the Central Government. Therefore, to have a union of the British Provinces on the one side and the Sovereign States on the other is a very difficult problem and there is no such parallel in the history of the whole world. These two things cannot be reconciled. It is a great problem to reconcile the interests of Sovereign States on one side and the interests of the subordinate Provinces on the other and to bring them into a Federation. My hon. Friend, Mr. Basheer Ahmed, rightly pointed out that the delay in the introduction of the Reforms is due to the attempt to have this All-India Federation. He suggested that British Indian Federation must precede All-India Federation. He said: let the autonomous Provinces be federated together and let responsibility be introduced in the Central Government and let the door be opened for States to come in when they chose. That position was advanced with greater force at the Round Table Conference, but wiser men have decided that the All-India Federation should be formed and it is that that we are now considering. Therefore, I say, Mr. Basheer Ahmed is very right in drawing attention to that. The delay is not entirely due to the selfishness of the British Parliament; it is not due to lack of interest on the part of the British Cabinet; but it is due to the inherent defects in the problem.

“It is true, we all expect that Reforms should be expedited. I have pointed out the great difficulty in order to show how it is not possible for any one to visualize a date on which the Reforms would come into operation. Take, for instance, the relations between the Indian States and the Provinces in matters of finance and in matters of representation. There is the claim of the Indian States to have one-third representation in the Lower House; you have got also the claim of my friends, the Muslims, for one-third in the Lower House. Now, if you take away these two-thirds, the rest of the one-third has to be

[Sir A. P. Patro]

[14th March 1934]

divided throughout British India. Therefore, the British Nation, being a democratic nation, saturated with ideas of freedom and liberty, find it difficult to reconcile these conflicted claims. Again take, for instance, the financial relations—I mean Federal Finance and Provincial Finance. The States do not accept any taxation whatever, and they want that the whole burden of the administration of the Federal Government must be borne by the Federation. But with regard to income-tax and super-tax, they would come in for a share only, after working the Indian Federation for a time. And it is only then they would come in for a share of the taxation. And so far as representation is concerned, they must have their share in the Cabinet; they may pass votes of no-confidence against the Ministers and turn out Ministers of the Federal Government, but yet not pay for the cost of administration and bear any portion of taxation. Therefore, the British Government and the Joint Parliamentary Committee are at great pains in order to ascertain what is the solution for this and how best to reconcile these conflicting interests. I am only giving this as an illustration. These matters should be carefully worked out.

“ Then, Sir, the Joint Parliamentary Committee consists of very able statesmen before whom the Joint Memorandum has been placed. This is the Joint Memorandum of Muslims and a few Hindus. The British Government and the Parliamentary Committee are very carefully considering how best to consolidate the proposals in the White Paper. They say in the concluding paragraph ‘ Our proposals are intended to secure the process of further transfer of responsibility and its continuance, etc.’ No one will dispute that statement. We recognize that during the initial period, which in our opinion should not exceed ten years, provisions in the Constitution must remain unaltered. As the signatories to the Joint Memorandum say, there are practical difficulties in working the Constitution. Take, for instance, the Poona Pact. In the case of the Poona Pact, you will see, that Bengal and certain other Provinces have been so violent in attacking the Pact; they say, it require modification. I say to them that that question should not now be raised. But let us see for ten years; it is only for a tentative period of ten years: It may be one community got an advantage over the other, it may be that the Hindus of a particular Province have lost a few seats. Time after time, we met in conferences and committees and discussed these matters at length, but we could not come to any understanding or agreement and we had to leave the matter to the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister gave an award in the light of the best opinion that was available to him. Probably there may be defects in it, but we must accept it as statesmen and as patriots, and we must find an early solution of the problem by agreement.

“ Then, Sir, coming to the Provincial arrangements referred to in the Joint Memorandum, while we approve of the scheme of Provincial Responsibility contained in the White Paper proposals, our observations and suggestions are confined to matters of detail. Similarly, in regard to the Central Constitution, the Joint Memorandum says that they have accepted the proposals contained in the White Paper, but they would

14th March 1934]

[Sir A. P. Patro]

suggest that further improvement should be made with a view to its smooth working in actual practice. Therefore, Sir, in essence while we accept the Constitution as outlined in the White Paper proposals, we want that certain alterations should be made to see that greater smoothness is there in the working of the Constitution.

“ Sir, I have spoken at length in order to show the difficulties for the delay in the matter of the inauguration of the Reforms. Mr. Basheer Ahmed argued that it is entirely due to the inherent defects. But, Sir, every endeavour must be made by the British Government to arrive at a conclusion so that the impatience that is growing in India and the intolerance that is there may be pacified and removed. If not, we shall be driving the people here in India to despair and the interest that they have been showing in the Constitution will in future be lost. Mr. Daniel Thomas referred to the fact that the British Government, while being anxious particularly in the maintenance of Law and Order, is not doing its best towards Reforms.”

* The Hon. the PRESIDENT:—“ May I intervene for a second? There are only four minutes to put the Demand to vote and the Hon. the Revenue Member has to make his reply.”

* Rao Bahadur Sir A. P. PATRO:—“ While the Reforms are delayed, the repression is carried on vigorously. (Mr. Daniel Thomas: That is not my statement.) That is the sum and substance of your statement. I am sure these two things, both the Reforms and the maintenance of Law and Order, cannot be separate. Unless there is Law and Order, Reforms cannot be carried on smoothly and vigorously.”

* The Hon. Sir ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL:—“ Mr. President, Sir, I do not propose to take up very much of the time of this House because I am quite sure Members of this House realize that the points that have been dealt with in this discussion to-day are not matters the disposal of which lies within the power of this Government. However, there is one point to which I must reply. There is a request for information from Mr. Basheer Ahmed as to whether this Government have been informed of any definite programme for the bringing of the Reformed Constitution into operation. We have not received any such programme and I am sure, Sir, that after hearing Sir Parasuramadas Patro, everyone will realize that it is extremely difficult for any one at the present time to tell exactly when the new Constitution will come into being. We have expected it from time to time and we have been looking forward to it always two or three years ahead, and it has always been receding into the distance. I do not wish to discuss the reasons for the postponement, but I am merely mentioning it as an indication of the great difficulty of foretelling when the Reforms will actually mature. There has, however, been considerable progress in the preparations for bringing the new Constitution into being during the past year.

“ I have listened with interest to this discussion; the speakers have not in all cases supported the proposals embodied in the Joint Memorandum. I think my friend, Mr. Pannirselvam, proposed that there should be Second Chambers in the Provinces whereas, if I remember

[Sir Archibald Campbell]

[14th March 1934]

rightly, in the Joint Memorandum it is said that there should not be Second Chambers even in the three Provinces in which it is proposed in the White Paper to establish them. On the other hand, his colleague, Mr. Daniel Thomas, took the same view as that taken in the Joint Memorandum.

“Members representing the Indian Christian community pressed once more for an alteration of the decision of the British Government regarding the representation of the various communities in the legislatures throughout India. That again is not dealt with in the Joint Memorandum.

“I am sure, Sir, that, although the views of individual Members may differ, as we should naturally expect in any assembly of this size, when the new Constitution is actually brought into being, everyone will combine together and accept that Constitution and work it in the best interests of the country. That will be the result so far as this Presidency is concerned, judging from experience of the past.

“The object of the motion is the discussion of the need for supporting the memorandum submitted to the Joint Parliamentary Committee on the Indian Constitution Reforms. I believe that I shall be meeting the wishes of the House, if I undertake, on behalf of the Government, to forward a report of the discussion which has taken place to-day to the Government of India with a request that that Government will be good enough to forward it to the Secretary of State for India in Council.”

* Khan Bahadur YAHYA ALI SAHIB Bahadur:—“I wish to assure the Government that the purpose in making this motion was not to place any obstacles in the way of Government or to strengthen the hands of the critics of the Government with regard to their White Paper policy. The main object was, as mentioned in the motion, to focus the attention of the Government and the public upon the need for considering and supporting the Joint Memorandum that has been submitted to the Parliamentary Committee. That being the main purpose, I am gratified to see that it has been achieved by this discussion. Sir, before I wind up, I just want to say one word and that is with reference to the remark of Mr. C. Basu Dev. It is not my purpose to charge the Government with the responsibility for the delay in the inauguration of the Reforms. As Sir Parasuramasdas Patro pointed out, it is due to a variety of circumstances, chief of them being the inherent difficulties involved in the problem itself. The request all over the country in the matter of speeding up of the Reforms is due to the craving that the Reforms should come as early as possible. There is no question of charging anybody whatsoever for having caused the delay.

“In view of the assurance of the Hon. the Revenue Member that he would forward the discussion on this matter to the Government of India for submission to the Secretary of State and since the purpose of concentrating attention on the memorandum has been achieved, I beg leave to withdraw the motion.”

The cut motion was, by leave, withdrawn.

The Demand was put and carried and the Grant was made.

14th March 1934]

III.—ELECTION OF MEMBERS TO THE MADRAS AND SOUTHERN MAHRATTA RAILWAY ADVISORY COMMITTEE.

* The Hon. the PRESIDENT:—" Before we discuss the next Demand, I wish to announce to the House that as a result of election held on 13th March 1934, that is, yesterday, Mr. Abdul Hameed Khan and Rao Sahib C. Jayarama Nayudu have been declared duly elected as Members of the Advisory Committee of the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway Company."

IV.—ELECTION OF MEMBERS TO THE FINANCE COMMITTEE FOR 1934-35.

* The Hon the PRESIDENT:—" Thirteen candidates were nominated for election to the Finance Committee. Five candidates have since withdrawn their candidature. The continuing candidates are—

- (1) Mr. G. Lakshmana Reddi.
- (2) Rao Bahadur A. T. Pannirselvam.
- (3) B. Pocker Sahib Bahadur.
- (4) Mr. K. P. Raman Menon.
- (5) Mr. Sami Venkatachalam Chetti.
- (6) Rao Bahadur R. Srinivasan.
- (7) Khan Bahadur Yahya Ali Sahib Bahadur.
- (8) Zamindar of Mirzapuram.

" As the number of continuing candidates is equal to the number of vacancies to be filled, namely, eight, I hereby declare that the above eight candidates are duly elected."

V.—ELECTION OF MEMBERS TO THE PUBLIC ACCOUNTS COMMITTEE FOR 1934-35.

* The Hon. the PRESIDENT:—" Thirteen candidates were nominated for election to the Public Accounts Committee. Six candidates have since withdrawn their candidature. The continuing candidates are—

- (1) Mr. V. T. Arasu.
- (2) Mr. A. Harischandrudu Nayudu.
- (3) Rao Bahadur C. Natesa Mudaliyar.
- (4) Mr. G. R. Premayya.
- (5) Mr. P. V. Rajagopala Pillai.
- (6) Mr. G. Sriramulu.
- (7) Mr. U. C. Subrahmanya Bhatt.

" As the number of continuing candidates is equal to the number of vacancies to be filled, namely, seven, I hereby declare that the above seven candidates are duly elected."

[14th March 1934]

II.—VOTING OF DEMAND FOR GRANTS FOR 1934-35.

DEMAND IX—LEGISLATIVE BODIES—RESERVED.

* The Hon. Sir MAHOMED USMAN:—"I beg to move, Sir—
'that the Government be granted a sum not exceeding Rs. 4,81,100 under Demand IX. Legislative Bodies—Reserved.'"

Mrs. K. ALAMELUMANGATHAYARAMMAL moved the following cut motion and made a speech in Tamil:—

To reduce the allotment of Rs. 48,800 for Provincial Legislative Council—Pay of Establishments by Rs. 100.

(To urge the necessity of the appointment of Tamil Reporters during the Council meetings.)

The PATTAGAR OF PALAYAKOTTA, speaking in Tamil, seconded the motion.

1-15 P.m. * The Hon. Sir MAHOMED USMAN:—"Mr. President, Sir, this question was considered three or four times after the coming into existence of the Reformed Legislative Council in the year 1921 and every time it was decided that it was not necessary to appoint vernacular reporters on account of the fact that very few Members speak in the vernacular languages. At present in the Legislative Council there are four Members who speak in the vernacular. All the others are able to speak in English; but I am not satisfied with the present system in the case of the vernacular speakers, who are asked to hand over their written speeches. This question is bound to arise in the new Reformed Council when many Members may not know English. We may then have to consider the question of the appointment of a Tamil reporter, a Telugu reporter, a Malayalam reporter, a Kanarese reporter and a Urdu reporter. There is no use solving this problem now. We will have to leave the whole question to the new Reformed Council."

The cut motion was, by leave, withdrawn.

Mr. BASHEER AHMED SAYEED:—"Sir, I am not moving my cut motion intended to urge the necessity for the adequate representation of minority communities in the Reporting Staff of this Council. With your permission I will move the other motion intended to point out certain defects in the payment of travelling allowance to Members."

* The Hon. the PRESIDENT:—"As the Members who have given notice of the intervening motions are not in their seats, the hon. Member may move his next motion as desired by him."

Mr. BASHEER AHMED SAYEED:—"Sir, I move—

'that the allotment of Rs. 1 lakh for Provincial Legislative Council—Allowances and Honoraria, be reduced by Rs. 100.'

"Sir, my object in moving this motion is to refer to the difficulties in the payment of travelling allowance to Members of the Council which have been brought to our notice. Sir, it is but fair that we should place these difficulties experienced by the Hon. Members of this House before the Hon. the Leader of the House so that they may be remedied. One

14th March 1934] [Mr. Basheer Ahmed Sayeed]

thing which I have come to know is this: that enormous difficulty and inconvenience is caused in the Accountant-General's office in the payment and cashing of bills. The delay is not so much in the office of the Legislative Council. Whatever could be done is done there with as much expedition as possible. The complaint is not that the office of the Legislative Council causes avoidable and unnecessary delays. But it is a fact that there is delay in the mufassal Members getting their amounts in time before they leave the headquarters for their respective places and that it extends to one or even two days sometimes when there is a rush of travelling allowance bills. Hon. Members cannot be expected to stay on here after their business is over. To avoid this delay some negotiations have to take place between the Provincial Government and the Accountant-General at least to minimise the same.

"I have another suggestion to make for avoiding this delay complained of. I would suggest that the Government should authorize the Secretary, Legislative Council, or the Cashier of the Council Office, if they think so, to retain an appreciable sum of Rs. 1,000 or Rs. 2,000 so as to pay the mufassal Members their travelling and halting allowances as soon as their bills are passed by the Secretary, and then adjust the same in the books of the Accountant-General. Of course these bills are always passed subject to audit objection. That, I think, would be a feasible proposition. If the cashier is allowed to retain as a contingent amount, some one or two thousand rupees instead of the small sum now left with him, at the commencement of every session of the Legislative Council, probably all this delay could be avoided.

"There is yet another suggestion I have to make in order to avoid this delay now happening. This suggestion has already been mooted in several Councils and even in this Council but for the fact that the motion concerned could not be reached for want of time, it would have been made here also. I now suggest that the time has come for the Government to take into consideration the question of fixing a payment to the Members of the Legislative Council. Even as early as 1911 the question of payment to Members of Parliament was taken up and decided in England. Now, Sir, in the Mother of Parliaments this practice has been in existence for nearly twenty years. Taking into consideration the nature of the work now being promised by the new Constitution and also the enormous difficulties that would be experienced in the work to be carried on by the Members, the payment of allowances for halting and travelling may not be the proper thing to do. I would therefore say that it is time that the Government considered the question of a consolidated payment to all Members. This payment, in lieu of the travelling and halting allowances now paid for Members coming for Committee work and for the Legislative Council sessions, would probably be more economical too. I would like the Government to examine the question as to how far the payment to Members of a fixed sum, say Rs. 300 or Rs. 400, would be feasible. I believe that if figures are worked out, taking into account the allowances paid to Members for the various Select Committees, Public

[Mr. Basheer Ahmed Sayeed] [14th March 1934]

Accounts Committee, Finance Committee, the Legislative Council meetings and so on the payment that I have suggested of Rs. 300 or Rs. 400 per month, would show a saving and will avoid the delays, the inconvenience and trouble now experienced by Members in the payment of the bills.

“ Sir, if my suggestion is adopted it will achieve another great object also. Under the present practice, due to the nature of the constitution under which we are working, people with merit, capacity and ability cannot always be expected to be returned by the electorate as, in these days and in all countries it has been the case, that merit and wealth do not combine. As the elections cost the candidates much money and as public work demands that the workers should be free from all the cares and worries, it is inevitable that the sphere of choice for the constituencies should be circumscribed. In order to widen or enlarge this sphere, you ought to have the system of payment that I have suggested. It is with this object that England decided to have this system. Sir, all people cannot afford to spend all their time in the public cause. The time has come when every Member of the Legislative Council will have to devote at least 75 per cent of his time to public work and, if you expect a large number of people to so devote their time, it is not always certain that your expectations will be fulfilled, because wherever there is wealth it is not always the case that capacity and willingness to work are also there. So, in order to enlarge the field for the selection of men with merit and capacity for doing work in the public field, it will be very conducive if you introduce the system of payment to the Members of the Legislative Council. I would like the Government to examine this, Sir. If my suggestion is adopted it will remove also the difficulties now experienced by members in getting their travelling allowance bills cashed.”

The House then adjourned for lunch.

After Lunch (2-30 p.m.)

Khan Bahadur MAHMUD SCHAMNAD SAHIB Bahadur:—“ Mr. President, Sir, as I have given notice of a similar cut motion, I wish to say a few words on this question. Sir, there is some difficulty experienced with regard to the payment of travelling allowance on the last day of the meeting, when we leave the city for our respective places. Sometimes we are not given in cash: we get only cheques and that too in the evening; and so we are not able to cash it on the very day we receive it. But we have to remain here the whole of next day for no other purpose except to cash it, for which day we don't get any daily allowance at all. Thus there is great inconvenience caused on account of the payment of travelling allowance in anything other than cash. I think that can be remedied by some such method suggested by Mr. Basheer Ahmed.

“ Then, the other difficulty is that if between two meetings there is an interval of less than eight days, we are not given travelling allowance. That means that we have to remain here for seven or eight days without

14th March 1934]

[Mr. Mahmud Schamnad]

going to our places, and waste so much of our time here. I think, even in the Assembly an interval of eight full days is not required between two meetings. It sometimes so happens that when there is not an interval of eight days before two meetings of the Council, and even though a Member goes to his place and returns only after a lapse of 10 or 12 days, even then, he is not allowed to draw travelling allowance. So I think it is quite essential that the interval between two meetings of the Council should be reduced.

“ The practice in the Assembly is to give three days’ daily allowance both before and after each meeting of the Assembly. Formerly it was seven days daily allowance; but of late it has been reduced to three days. I think it is necessary that we should make here too a similar provision for three days’ daily allowance both before and after each meeting of the Council, though some of us actually come only on the day of the meeting. For there are some others both in the mufassal and in the city who would like to come here and study things beforehand for the debate, and so it is but natural that they should be paid for the days which they spend in preparation work.

“ Another difficulty is that in Ootacamund, if we go to attend any committee meeting we are not able to draw travelling allowance there itself. This difficulty was pointed out on a former occasion, and it was said that some arrangement had been made to enable members to draw their travelling allowance even in Ootacamund itself. But actually when last year I went there to attend a committee meeting, although a clerk who had come there told me that I could cash my bill there, I was not able to draw the amount there. In fact it was two or three months before I could cash my bill, as only when I came to attend the Council meeting in Madras that I actually got the sum.

“ To remedy these difficulties, I think the system of paying salary to Members of the Council, as suggested by Mr. Basheer Ahmed, would be the best arrangement. I think in the current year the amount in the revised estimate allotted for the travelling allowance of Members is Rs. 1,30,000. If the system of payment of salary to Members is introduced, I don’t think that amount will be exceeded. Because, in that case, the Members need not be paid either travelling allowance or daily allowance for the committee meeting or the Council meeting. I hope this question also will be taken into consideration.

“ Then, Sir, when we send questions we are not aware of the date on which those questions will be answered. Sometimes, Sir, . . . ”

* The Hon. the PRESIDENT:—“ Order, order, how does that arise here? We are now discussing only the cut motion on the travelling allowance of Members.”

Khan Bahadur MAHMUD SCHAMNAD SAHIB Bahadur:—“ Can’t I raise this point also in this connexion? ”

* The Hon. the PRESIDENT:—“ Unless you are paid travelling allowance for questions (Laughter) there is no policy in discussing that now.”

[14th March 1934]

Khan Bahadur MAHMUD SCHAMNAD SAHIB Bahadur:—"Then, Sir, I have nothing more to add to what I have already said."

Mr. P. V. KRISHNAYYA CHOUDARI:—"Mr. President, Sir, the Legislative Council office is very prompt in the payment of travelling allowance. As a matter of fact, some of us who come from the mufassal have no complaint with regard to this office. The only thing that is required is that if we give the office previous notice one day in advance, that we want our travelling allowance on the last day of the meeting, we very easily get it on that day. But if on the other hand we go on to the last day of the meeting and claim our travelling allowance, then only the office feels unable to meet the wish. And even there the difficulty seems to be more with the Accountant-General's office rather than with the Council office, as I understand that the Accountant-General's office requires one day's previous notice. Thus there is absolutely no complaint against the Legislative Council office.

"Then, Sir, Mr. Schamnad referred to the practice in the Legislative Assembly Department. Sir, I myself was a Member of the Legislative Assembly for some time. (Opposition Party Voices: 'Hear, hear.') There, they are not so prompt in this matter as we are having in this Council. So it is a compliment to our Madras Legislative Council office in the payment of travelling allowance, as such a system does not exist anywhere else. (Hear, hear.)

"The second thing that Mr. Schamnad pointed out was that in the Assembly we are getting three days' daily allowance both before and after each meeting of the Assembly. That is no doubt a fact. But that is purely because we have to take into consideration the fact that the Members have to be travelling continuously for almost a week before and after each meeting, and so as they require rest after a tiresome journey such daily allowance is given. But here that is not the case. Several Members actually come only on the day of the meeting, and very few of them will come three days before the meeting, and so it is not necessary that we should have three days' daily allowance.

"Then, Sir, if once we claim salary like the official Members, and more especially at a time like the present one when we are clamouring for less expenditure, naturally the official Members would take advantage of this and quote our speeches against ourselves, and so it is not desirable that we should give them such an advantage. Further so far as the payment of salary is concerned, I don't think it will be beneficial to mufassal Members, inasmuch as their actual travelling allowance is much in excess of the salary they would be drawing. Perhaps it may be beneficial to Members residing in the City, but it is positively not beneficial to the mufassal Members. So I am not for Mr. Basheer Ahmed's suggestion."

* Mr. M. S. SRESHTA:—"Mr. President, Sir, there are some cut motions dealing with the Legislative Council Library, which have been

14th March 1934]

[Mr. M. S. Sreshta]

passed over for want of speakers. And so, Sir, with your permission, I shall say a few words on the question before I come to travelling allowance." (Cries of 'No, no.')

* The Hon. the PRESIDENT:—"The hon. Member may note that lower down in the list, cut motions Nos. 410 and 411 deal with Library, and when we come to them, the hon. Member may speak on Library and not now."

Mr. M. S. SRESHTA:—"I will now deal with the question of travelling allowance. Mr. Krishnayya Choudari seems to be under the impression that there was an attack on the Council office staff by Mr. Schamnad. Mr. Schamnad did not make any attack on the staff at all. Sir, from my personal knowledge I may say that the Council office staff is an efficient staff; one cannot meet with a more efficient staff anywhere else. To my knowledge there is absolutely no delay on their part. There is any amount of courtesy from the Secretary down to the lowest paid member of the establishment. The clerk dealing with the payment of travelling allowance is not only a courteous clerk but a very able clerk. He does his work very promptly and very efficiently. If there is any fault, the fault lies with the system, and not with the clerk. For the last two years, I have been pressing this point of payment of travelling allowance. One reply made was that the complaint came from me only. I am very glad that to-day there are many other Members who feel the same thing. By now it would have been noticed that the complaint is a general one. I am very thankful to you, Sir, for the prompt action you have taken on the remarks I made last time and for also having called a conference on this question. I am also thankful to the Hon. the Home Member for having held the conference in which this question was discussed. I hope it will be easy for him to take any further action in order to see that matters are improved. To my mind the remedy is easy. An imprest may be given to the cash-keeper. Whenever Members go to him and make their claims, he submits their bills to the Accountant-General and, until the money comes from the Accountant-General, the cash-keeper is unable to pay anything to the Members. What happens is this: sometimes the Accountant-General's office sends the cash the same day or the next day and sometimes two or three days after. Sometimes cash is not sent but only cheques. Sir, this is adding insult to injury because when the Member is in need of cash, he gets a cheque which he cannot cash in time before catching his train. Then the poor man goes to somebody and then collects cash for his cheque. Some friend or other comes to his rescue and he is able to cash his cheque. I know the other day a certain hon. Member wanted to go to his native place and he got his money by cheque. He would have been in difficulties, but for the fact that someone was able to oblige him with cash for his cheque. I think this is a very unsatisfactory state of affairs. We have stated all the facts and I think it should be possible for the Hon. the Home Member to do something. With some experience of the Government department I am speaking. I am not talking in any

2-45
p.m.

[Mr. M. S. Sreshta]

[14th March 1934]

spirit of destructive criticism, but I want to make a constructive suggestion, and that is this: the cash-keeper may have an imprest of Rs. 2,000. I think he can be trusted and within 24 hours he will be able to disburse the travelling allowances to Members. As regards this matter, an official told me that it would be a very dangerous thing if clerks are allowed to have such a large amount of money and it may lead to defalcation. I would point out that the person to whom the imprest is given will be generally a person who has put in a service of a long number of years and his pension rights will be worth more than the money entrusted to him if such an official goes away. Sir, the point I am mentioning has been recognized in the administration of the Postal department in England. No security is demanded there from persons who have put in a certain number of years service, because it has been considered that pensions are as good securities as anything else. Therefore I trust that the Hon. the Home Member will kindly see that the imprest is granted to the cash-keeper. I may also point out in this connexion that the cash-keeper has even now sometimes something like Rs. 2,000 or Rs. 3,000 in his possession when he has to pay the clerks and other staff in the office. The granting of an imprest is such a simple matter that if the Hon. the Home Member who has got so much influence make up his mind, he can very well put it through. I would suggest to the Hon. the Home Member that an imprest be given to the cash-keeper. The Accountant-General's office cannot raise any objection, nor do I think there is anything in the Account Code which prevents the Accountant-General from giving an imprest. So I trust that the Hon. the Home Member who has been so considerate so far will sympathetically consider this question and see that the imprest is given to the cash-keeper."

* The Hon. Sir MAHOMED USMAN:—"I may say, Sir, that it is not the object of the Government to cause any inconvenience to hon. Members of the Legislative Council. The inconvenience felt in the matter of getting travelling allowance was brought to the notice of the Government on several occasions and several defects have been removed. My hon. Friend, Mr. Basheer Ahmed, pleaded for making prompt payment to Members. I think the difficulty is that any scheme that we devise must receive the concurrence of the Accountant-General. Therefore it is not entirely a matter for this Government alone. I may say this: that we will try our best to devise some method which will cause less inconvenience to hon. Members after consulting the Accountant-General.

"My hon. Friend, Mr. Basheer Ahmed, spoke again with regard to the payment of salary to the Members of the Legislative Council and I find that Mr. Krishnayya Choudari is opposed to that proposal. I think the question of payment of salaries to the Members must be left to the new Reformed Council. When it comes into existence, it will take into account the number of days we have to sit and if it is found necessary, the new Council will devise some scheme, either the payment of a new scale of travelling and daily allowance or payment of salary.

14th March 1934]

[Sir Mahomed Usman]

I think it is better we do not take up this question now because, after all, this Council is going to sit only for a year or two more. When the Reformed Council comes into existence, I think this question can be dealt with in all seriousness.

“ My hon. Friend, Mr. Schamnad, said that the payment by cheques is causing a certain amount of hardship to the Members. With regard to that again, we are entirely in the hands of the Accountant-General. I understand if the amount does not exceed Rs. 200 it may be paid in cash. If hon. Members want payment in cash for any sums exceeding Rs. 200 I think it is not possible to do so. But if the hon. Members want that we must once again make representations to the Accountant-General, I am prepared to do so after consulting the Secretary to the Council.

“ I entirely endorse the statements made by hon. Members of this House about the solicitude with which the Secretary to the Council attends to the comforts of hon. Members of the Legislative Council. I shall consult him if it is possible to devise a system by means of which travelling allowance could be paid in a prompter fashion.

“ Mr. Schamnad Sahib said that during the sitting of the Committee at Ootacamund travelling allowance was not paid to him. The Government having passed orders most of the Members got their money at Ootacamund itself. Therefore I do not think there is any real grievance on that point. As for the interval before a Member could claim travelling allowance, the rule is that there should be an interval of 8 days between two meetings when a Member can claim travelling allowance. The last meeting of the Legislative Council ended on the 1st March and it reassembled on the 8th. We issued a Government Order that 8 days rule need not be insisted upon. Whenever Government feel that hon. Members are inconvenienced in that direction they always pass special orders. There is no necessity for making a general rule as suggested. There were only two such occasions for the last two or three years and on both the occasions we passed favourable orders.

“ I shall bear in mind all the suggestions of hon. Members and, after consulting the Secretary to the Council, if I find that anything could be done for the payment of travelling allowances to the Members in a prompter fashion, I shall certainly do my very best,”

* The Hon. the PRESIDENT:—“ I am sorry that Mr. Basheer Ahmed who has moved this cut motion is not available to this Council. Courtesy requires that any hon. Member who has moved any cut motion should be here either to withdraw it or have it voted upon. I hope Mr. Basheer Ahmed will bear this in mind and see that he will not absent himself when any motion that he has given notice of is being put to vote. Now I will put the motion to vote.”

The cut motion was put and lost.

[14th March 1934]

* Dr. P. SUBBARAYAN:—"I beg to move the cut motion which stands in my name as follows:—

'That the allotment of Rs. 1,50,000 for Elections—Pay of Special Officers and Establishments—be reduced by Rs. 100.'

"Sir, as put down in the notice paper, I have tabled this cut motion in order to get information from the Hon. the Leader of the House as to the election to this Council as well as the Assembly. I see from the Budget that a provision of Rs. 1,50,000 has been made for election to the Legislative Assembly, but nothing is mentioned with regard to the Legislative Council. Hon. Members who were present here when the Hon. the Revenue Member replied to the cut motion on the White Paper proposals will remember that he distinctly stated that the question of Reforms seemed to be receding further and further. Taking that as the cue if we are not going to get any real Constitution into working order till the end of 1936 which is the date as has been given by some of my friends from England who have written to me on the procedure that is to be adopted with regard to the Joint Parliamentary Committee and the further procedure of His Majesty's Government with regard to the inauguration of the Reforms, I think there is no reason why the election to the Legislative Council should not be held when the present term of the Council comes to an end and if there is no extension of the same by His Excellency the Governor. I know the Hon. the Leader of the House will say that it is entirely the prerogative of His Excellency the Governor and it is for him to decide whether he is going to extend the term of the Council or dissolve and have election in the natural course of events. I am specially moving this motion in order that His Excellency the Governor may come to know the feelings that exist in this House with regard to election. In most of the Constitutions a time limit is put down for the term of a particular legislative body for the simple reason that the devisers of the Constitution have felt it incumbent to consult the electorate from time to time. And with regard to the Indian Constitution His Majesty's Government when they passed the Government of India Act, 1919, did take it that under the conditions then existing in this country three years time was sufficient for one Legislative Council to continue. Perhaps they had their cue from the original practice of the English Constitution by which they used to have triennial elections and they were having triennial Parliaments. Afterwards it was felt that the expenditure on the elections was so much and the House of Commons was composed of more than 700 Members before the establishment of the Irish Free State Constitution, that they had to resort to what is called septennial election by which elections were held to the House of Commons every seven years until the coming into effect of the Parliamentary Act of 1919 by which the overriding powers of the House of Lords were taken away and the House of Commons were given the extraordinary power of passing legislation even if the House of Lords were against the Government introducing that legislation. If such powers were to be placed in

14th March 1934]

[Dr. P. Subbarayan]

the hands of the House of Commons it was thought that the lifetime of each House should be cut short to five years. The lifetime of this House according to the Government of India Act is three years and now we are in the fourth year which will continue up to the 6th of November this year. I would therefore bring to the notice of the Members of Government concerned and His Excellency the Governor that in view of the fact that the opinion of the country has to be obtained not only on the policy of the Ministry in power but also on the question of the impending Constitutional Reforms and the Memorandum of the British Indian Delegation presented to the Parliamentary Committee, elections should be held for the Legislative Council and the Legislative Assembly as soon as possible. I hope the Hon. the Leader of the House will convey this impression to His Excellency the Governor and also do what he can himself towards adopting proper constitutional procedure in holding elections specially to a House which has had a year more than the term for which it was elected."

Mr. K. P. RAMAN MENON:—"Mr. President, Sir, I have great pleasure in supporting the motion before the House. As has been explained by Dr. Subbarayan, the normal lifetime of this Council has been fixed at three years. This is copied from the English practice of having elections whenever it is thought that the pulse of the country should be felt by the Government. Now, this Council was functioning for three years when it got an extension of one year. I think, Sir, it is high time that in view of the very great Constitutional changes that will be introduced, fresh elections were held to gauge the public opinion in the country. It may be that all or at any rate some of us may be returned again, but in the interests of all concerned, it is better that the country is given an opportunity of expressing its opinion. I hope that the opinion of Dr. Subbarayan will be endorsed by the House and accepted by the Government and conveyed to His Excellency."

* Mr. V. T. ARASU:—"Mr. President, Sir, I support the motion before the House asking the Government to conduct the elections to this Legislative Council as early as possible."

* The Hon. the PRESIDENT:—"The hon. Member may speak more audibly."

* Mr. V. T. ARASU:—"As has been pointed out by the Hon. the Leader of the Opposition and by the hon. Member from Malabar, it is a well-understood principle in political science that the life of legislatures should be fixed in the statute itself. The Government of India Act has fixed the life of this Council as three years. That period has already elapsed last year. But His Excellency the Governor in the exercise of his prerogative under the Government of India Act, extended the lifetime of this Council by one more year. Sir, there is an apprehension in this House and in the country outside that the life of this Council will be further extended. This apprehension is strengthened by the fact that the Hon. the Revenue Member in reply to the debate on the previous Demand said this morning that the Reforms seem to

[Mr. V. T. Arasu]

[14th March 1934]

be receding farther and farther, and one does not know when they are likely to be inaugurated. In view of that statement I would request the Government to make a representation to His Majesty's Government that, if the Reforms are not going to be inaugurated before the end of this year, the Local Government should be given an opportunity to dissolve this Council and conduct fresh elections. The Hon. the Leader of the House and the Government as a whole should have known by this time that hon. Members of this Council are not at all regular in their attendance; and from the thin House we are having just now it will be seen that interest in the proceedings of this House has waned. Unless the Government conduct fresh elections and bring fresh blood into this Council, the proceedings of this Council are bound to be tame and dull.

"With your permission, Mr. President, I want to make a few remarks regarding the motion standing in my name."

* The Hon. the PRESIDENT:—"About Assembly elections?"

* Mr. V. T. ARASU:—"Yes. Mr. President, in the Budget for 1934-35 a sum of Rs. 1,50,000 has been provided for elections to the Legislative Assembly. I want to know whether the Local Government have received any directions from the Government of India to make such a provision and, if so, whether the Government of India have given any information regarding the probable date at which the new Reforms are likely to be inaugurated. I request the Hon. the Leader of the House to make a definite statement as to under what circumstances the Government have allotted a sum of Rs. 1,50,000 for holding elections to the Legislative Assembly.

"Lastly, Sir, I should like to make a few remarks about the Hon. the Leader of the House. In all probability he may not be occupying the Treasury Bench when we meet here next time. The Hon. Sir Mahomed Usman has been leading this House for the past four years, and I should like to take this opportunity of paying my humble meed of tribute to him for the services he has rendered to this House. He has been leading this House with great tact, and was courteous to everyone of its Members. More than anything else, he always spoke what he felt and felt what he spoke. It is not given to all of us to speak what we feel and feel what we speak. We often indulge in platitudes and are often afraid to speak what we feel. That has not been the case with the Hon. the Leader of this House: he always spoke frankly unmindful whether it was liked by the people or not. That is a great quality in him and I should like to give public expression to it on the floor of this House. We, Members of this House, will be sorry to miss him when he may not be occupying his seat on the Treasury Bench when we meet here next time. However, I hope and trust that though Sir Mahomed Usman may sever his connexion with this House, he will continue to take interest in the proceedings of this body."

* The Hon. Sir MAHOMED USMAN:—"Mr. President, Sir, as regards the elections to the Legislative Assembly, hon. Members know

14th March 1934]

[Sir Mahomed Usman]

that we have made a provision in the Budget for preparing the electoral rolls, etc. But it is a matter entirely for His Excellency the Governor-General to decide whether the elections should be held this year or not. I have nothing more to say on the matter.

“As regards the elections to the Madras Legislative Council, here again it is a matter not in the hands of the Government; it is for His Excellency the Governor to decide whether or not elections should be held this year. All that the Government can do is to bring to the notice of His Excellency the strong feeling expressed by the hon. Members of the Opposition to-day that there should be elections this year. If His Excellency decides that there should be elections, we can come forward with a supplemental demand during the next meeting in July or August.”

MR. ABDUL HAMEED KHAN:—“Mr. President, Sir, the Hon. the Home Member has said that he does not know when the elections to the Assembly will be held and that it all depends on the decision of His Excellency the Governor-General. He also spoke in the same strain with regard to the elections to the local Legislative Council and said that he did not know when the elections to this House would be held. But we note that a sum of Rs. 1,50,000 has been provided in the Budget for elections to the Assembly, whereas nothing has been provided for the elections to the Council. Therefore there seems to be some difference between the one and the other and I want to know from the Hon. the Leader of the House where the difference lies. Has the Local Government been asked by the Government of India to make a provision in the Budget for elections to the Legislative Assembly? If that was so, I fail to understand, how the Hon. the Leader of the House could say that the Government did not know whether the elections for the Assembly would be held this year or not.”

* THE HON. SIR MAHOMED USMAN:—“Mr. President, Sir, all that I can say on the question is this. We are all under the impression that the new Constitution will be introduced in the Provinces much earlier than in the Centre. Therefore, we thought that, if the Reforms are introduced here next year, there may be no elections this year. That is how the Government looked at the question and did not make any provision in the Budget. But since the hon. Members of the Opposition now ask me to bring to the notice of His Excellency that they desire to have the elections this year, I am prepared to do so and, if His Excellency decides that there should be elections this year, the necessary expenditure can be met by means of a supplemental demand at the next meeting of the Council.

“I may say, Sir, I am very grateful to Mr. Arasu for the high compliment he has paid to me for my humble work in this Council.”

* DR. P. SUBBARAYAN:—“Sir, in view of the statement made by the Hon. the Leader of the House that he will convey the general feeling of the Members of the Opposition to His Excellency, I beg leave of the House to withdraw my motion.”

The motion was, by leave, withdrawn.

[14th March 1934]

Mrs. K. ALAMELUMANGATHAYARAMMA:—" Mr. President, Sir, I beg to move—

'that the allotment of Rs. 4,81,100 for Legislative Bodies be reduced by Rs. 100, to urge the need for replacing the old and torn curtains in the Legislative Council Chamber.'"

(The hon. Member made a speech in Tamil in support of the motion.)

3-15
P.m.

* The Hon. Sir MAHOMED USMAN:—" Mr. President, Sir, I understand the hon. Member spoke about the shabby curtains of the Council Chamber. We called for an estimate and found that it would cost about Rs. 9,000 to renew the curtains throughout the whole building. Since the buildings are to undergo many structural alterations there may be no need for these curtains at all. Therefore we did not do anything in the direction of renewing them. The Government have got a proposal to alter these buildings next year or so; when these alterations are made, new curtains will be provided for this building. At present I think it will be waste of money to renew these curtains at a cost of Rs. 8 or Rs. 9 thousands. I hope the hon. Member will withdraw this motion."

The motion was, by leave, withdrawn.

B. POCKER SAHIB Bahadur:—" Sir, I move—

'To reduce the allotment of Rs. 4,81,100 for Legislative Bodies by Rs. 100.'

" This motion is intended to solve the practical difficulty that is being felt by Muslim Members of this Council ever since this Council began. Perhaps the Members of the previous Council also would have felt the same difficulty. I understand that at the recent conference that was held between the Leaders of Parties in the Council and the Hon. the President, some provision has been made for a prayer room for the Muslim Members so far as the Reformed Council was concerned. Since this Council began we have been making attempts in that direction and several communications were addressed to the Secretary to the Council; in fact we were promised that some room would be given to us. If I remember right, I think one of the rooms was actually allotted to us; later on I found that the board was removed. Later on some other room was offered to us, the room behind the room of the Opposition Leader and we sent a reply accepting that room. Later on we found that it was not allotted to us and we are under the very same disability: There are five prayers which are compulsory for every Muslim and if he does not perform any one of them, he is a great sinner in the eye of the religion of Islam. One of those prayers has to be offered between 12-30 p.m. and 3-30 p.m. and that prayer has to be performed during the sitting of the Council, by the Muslim Members attending the Council. It will certainly be impracticable for a Member of this Council to go some miles off in order to perform his prayer and come back. If there is some mosque anywhere in the

14th March 1934] [B. Pocker Sahib Bahadur]

neighbourhood, that would have been an excuse for not providing this convenience; in fact there is none. The Muslim Members have been feeling this difficulty all along. We thought that in view of the promise made by the Secretary to the Council, this convenience would be provided for us; it is rather very regrettable that it has not been provided so far and this difficulty still continues. I hope, Sir, that many arguments are not necessary in this matter particularly in view of the fact that the Hon. the Leader of the House himself would realize the necessity on the part of Muslim Members to pray five times in a day; he knows that one of the prayer times falls between 12-30 and 3-30 p.m. So far as he himself is concerned, he has got convenience. I would request him to treat the other Muslims of this Council in the same manner and see that they are provided with some convenience for performing their religious duties; any default in this matter will make the Muslims sinners in the eye of the religion of Islam."

* The Hon. Sir MAHOMED USMAN:—"Sir, I entirely agree with the hon. Member that a proper prayer room should be provided for Muhammadan Members in the Council. I understand that some room has already been provided at the instance of Mr. Basheer Ahmed. At present we have not got enough space and it is not possible to do anything better. When we make alterations to the building, this point will be borne in mind and I hope a decent room will be set apart for the purpose of prayer for Muhammadan Members."

B. POCKER SAHIB Bahadur:—"Sir, I would just point out that the lounge room just behind the Opposition Leader's room is intended for all Members and it will not be possible for the Muslim Members to utilize it for prayer when it is intended for all; it will be wrong on the part of Muslim Members to use that room for prayer purposes. If that room or any other room is allotted exclusively as prayer room for Muslims, we will be satisfied; that is all we want."

The Hon. Sir MAHOMED USMAN:—"I am prepared to consult the Secretary to the Council and see if it is possible to give a prayer room for Muhammadan Members."

The motion was, by leave, withdrawn.

Mr. U. C. SUBRAHMANYA BHATT:—"Sir, I beg to move the cut motion which stands in my name:—

'that the allotment of Rs. 4,81,100 for Legislative Bodies be reduced by Rs. 100.'

This is to impress upon the Government the need to remove the Legislative Council buildings when the new Reforms come in and that new buildings be constructed outside the Fort limits instead of inside the Fort. I say this because the Legislative Council Members who come to this Council are put to the necessity of having to hold up their cars; sometimes they themselves are stopped by Military authorities and passes are demanded. I must say in this connexion that the Military authorities, who stop passengers, etc., have been uniformly

[Mr. U. C. Subrahmanya Bhatt] [14th March 1934]

courteous to the Members. Members of the Legislative Council have to come to this Council day-in and day-out; they are known to the staff of the Military department. When there is a change in the Military staff, they do not know and the Legislative Council Members have to undergo some difficulties. With regard to the Council under the new Reforms, as there will be a larger number of Members, the Government would do well to locate the Legislative Council outside the Fort limits."

Mr. M. A. MUTHIAH CHETTIYAR:—"Sir, I cannot agree with my hon. Friend for the removal of the Legislative Council buildings to a place outside Fort St. George. The Fort is a historic place in the City and everybody should be glad to come here. I do not think we can get a better place than the present one which is in front of the sea. Members here have been saying that the Legislative Council work is tiring and I think the sea-breeze will refresh them. If it is meant that the present buildings are not comfortable and that we should have a better building, then I would agree with that proposition; but I would be loathe to support any proposition to have the Legislative Council Chambers outside the premises of this historic Fort. If Members of the Council are put to any annoyance by the Military authorities in the matter of admission to the Fort, that can be remedied by administrative orders; there is no reason why we should have our Legislative Council Chambers outside the Fort."

* The Hon. Sir MAHOMED USMAN:—"Sir, as I have said a few minutes ago, it is the intention of the Government to make certain structural alterations to the present building so that we may have better accommodation when the Reformed Council comes into existence in a year or two. If we find that this building is not sufficient even after the alterations the Government will have to consider the question of having an entirely new building, if necessary, outside the Fort. That question will have to be considered at a future date. It is not possible for me to say what will be the ultimate decision of the Government then. It is a matter for the future and we need not consider it now.

"Of course there are certain difficulties in allowing people to come to this building on account of the fact that we are in the Military zone and we have to observe certain rules and regulations. We are trying our best to minimize the inconvenience as much as possible."

The motion was, by leave, withdrawn.

Mr. ABDUL HAMEED KHAN:—"Sir, I beg to move—

'that a sum of Rs. 100 be deducted out of Rs. 4,81,100 for Legislative Bodies.'

I wish to refer to the restrictions imposed by the Police when Legislative Council Members come here on business. This difficulty has been felt for a very long time by the Members of this House. The Hon. the Home Member in his reply on a former cut motion said that it would be

14th March 1934]

[Mr. Abdul Hameed Khan]

possible at a future time to have a separate building for the Legislative Council outside the Military zone, and then the restrictions which are now imposed on the movements of the Members of the Legislative Council would be removed. That is a matter for the future. I think the sooner we get out of the jurisdiction of the Military authorities, the better it will be for the convenience of the Council Members.

“ I have myself experienced and other hon. Members also have 3-30 experienced one very great difficulty, and that is, with regard to the p.m. non-admittance of persons coming to meet Members of this House on urgent business during the session of the Council. There were occasions when Members had to be informed of very urgent and important matters, and the persons who sought admission into the Fort were held up at the gate by the constables. Even after the constables were told that the messengers were seeking admission in order to see the Members of the Council on urgent business, they were not allowed. When the matter was reported to the Police officer in charge, he also said that his orders were that no person should be allowed inside the Fort without a pass. Sir, passes are issued to Members of the Council and passes are issued to those people who are employed in the Fort offices. But how can passes be issued to servants to Members or other persons who come here to see the Members on urgent business, all of a sudden without their knowing that such occasions would arise at all? When such emergencies arise, nobody could wait for the issue of the passes for getting admission into the Fort. I of course made a representation and I understand that the Secretariat, not the Legislative Council Secretariat, but the Chief Secretariat, has not been able to get the Military authorities to agree with them; or perhaps they have not themselves pressed the matter sufficiently with the Military authorities. When the Council is in session at least, it should be possible for the Military authorities to relax the restrictions, not only so far as Members of the Council are concerned, but also in the case of persons coming to see the Members on urgent business. It may be argued, Sir, that it would not be possible to distinguish between a person coming to see a Member and any other person. But if you are going to keep out a person who comes to see a Member of the Council on urgent business on the plea that he might be a dangerous person, you have also to consider the question of causing a good deal of inconvenience and even the danger of the Member not being available at a place where his presence is absolutely necessary in order to prevent many many serious things. Members of the Council ought not to be kept as prisoners, as it were, during the session of the Council. Their liberty should not be restrained or restricted in the way in which it has been done. Therefore, Sir; it behoves the hon. the Leader of the House to see that the Military authorities do not place these restrictions on persons who come to see Members of the Council when it is in session. I know we have very strict rules in regard to admission to the Council Chamber; and we also know how very often when even important questions are considered by this Council, very few visitors are found in the galleries. I am not of course raising any point now on that question, because these

[Mr. Abdul Hameed Khan] [14th March 1934]

rules have been framed in order to prevent any trouble. But in order to prevent that trouble, how can you create trouble for the Members? I therefore hope, Sir, that every step will be taken by the Government to see that the Members of the Council are not put to these difficulties and inconveniences."

* Mr. K. A. NACHIYAPPA GOUNDER:—" Mr. President, Sir, I have much pleasure in supporting this motion moved by my hon. Friend, Mr. Hameed Khan. A lot of difficulty is experienced by persons who come to meet the Council Members when the Council is in session. They are strictly held up at the outside gates if they have not got admission tickets with them and even there, they have not got any shelter or shed in which to wait till they get hold of a peon through whom to send information to the Member concerned. Sometimes it so happens that they have to wait there for half an hour and more without being able to send word to the Member. It is quite necessary, therefore, that some arrangement should be devised by which the visitors and persons who come to speak to the Council Members on urgent business may be admitted at least up to the visitors' room, without having to undergo the inconvenience of standing in the hot sun for a pretty long time. Such an arrangement should, I think, be possible and I request the Hon. the Leader of the House to pay his immediate attention to this grievance and remedy the same."

* Mr. P. V. KRISHNAYYA CHAUDARI:—" Mr. President, Sir, even within our lobbies I know an hon. Member, the Raja of Parlakimedi, when he came here for the first time from his place, was stopped by the Sub-Inspector of Police and when without answering him, he was coming in—I happened to be there—the Sub-Inspector asked him whether he was a Member of the Council. Such things are occurring to other Members of the Council. There was another instance three or four days ago when some of the shorthand reporters of the Legislative Council were obstructed by one sergeant here just in the veranda. The President may also enquire into it, as they happen to be reporters of the Legislative Council and belong to the Council office staff. Not only that; if some passes are given to us to be used for our servants or other persons whom we want to bring here, just like the passes that are supplied to us already, that would be better. In that case, they can freely come into the Fort premises, but no doubt the responsibility will be on the Members themselves. Railway officers and their servants are generally given such passes whenever they travel by train; similarly if our servants or other persons can be allowed with the passes into the Fort premises, of course on the responsibility of the Members, much of the present inconvenience may disappear. I request that the present regulations in the matter may be relaxed a bit in the interests of all concerned."

B. POCKER SAHIB Bahadur:—" Mr. President, Sir, if I speak on this cut motion, it is with a view to add to the experiences of my friends here. More than once I was personally prevented from entering the Fort premises and it was only by appealing to the Secretary who was far off

14th March 1934]

[B. Pocker Sahib Bahadur]

from the gate, through some peon who was within my eye-sight, that I could enter. It was only through the Secretary's kind intervention that I was able to come in. That was not the only occasion; it has been so more than once. The Secretary communicated with the Chief Secretary's office and, somehow for the time being, I was left alone then. A second time also I had the same experience and I had to make a complaint to the Secretary and the only reply was that—whether it is satisfactory or not I leave it to the House to judge—those who were in charge at the gate did not make a distinction between man and man. I was told that even Government Members and even His Excellency was once prevented by the Police officer from entering the Fort. I do not know whether that is a consolation. The fact that His Excellency was prevented by the enforcement of this rule does not make it a salient one. This cut motion sets out the practical difficulty that we feel. Whenever I had to send some questions or some other communications to the Secretary, whom could I send, when I myself found it so difficult to enter the Fort? How can my clerk or servant enter without a pass? I had therefore to come here myself when my clerk or some other messenger could have transacted the business on my behalf. The result was that at times when I was prevented by other urgent business to come here, I had to sacrifice this business. Sometimes when we put off sending questions or some communications to the last prescribed date, we have to come here ourselves, otherwise the whole business has to be sacrificed. I have experienced such a difficulty and it should have been felt by other Members also. I am really glad that my hon. Colleagues here have given expression to their feelings to-day, and I have also great pleasure in giving out my experience. I do grant that all methods should be adopted to prevent any kind of dangerous persons into the Fort premises or into the Council Chamber; but what I say is that the present method does not make any difference between a man who possesses a bomb and one who does not possess a bomb. For that purpose, I would rather like the Government to see that this spirit of bomb-throwing or the possessing of bomb is eradicated from the minds of the people, than resort to this very ineffective and even frivolous method of preventing bombs being thrown. I do not think the present practice will prevent the man who is really bent upon throwing a bomb into this Council from doing so. If he is really bent upon it, he will do so in spite of the present regulations and restrictions. This trouble can be solved only by changing the mentality of the people, which can be done only by the Government being kind to the people in general. That is of course a general question; but even in this small matter we are to be put to all this inconvenience; we are unable to get on with our business here. I therefore appeal to the Government to take such steps as they may deem fit, to eradicate this bomb-spirit or this spirit of violence from the minds of the people, rather than subject us to inconveniences like this. (Mr. Basu Dev. 'Can they do it by passing an order?') My friend Mr. Basu Dev suggests that the Government by passing an order cannot do so; but the question rests entirely with the people who are

[B. Pocker Sahib Bahadur]

[14th March 1934]

bent upon carrying bombs. If at all these bombs have come into this country, they have come from foreign countries. The idea of the bomb itself is quite foreign to the Indian mind and it is a foreign importation. I will have to say something on this subject in connexion with a later demand and suggest quite a different method. I shall then have to appeal to the Government in the interests of this country, which is after all, that of Indians, to take the necessary steps to eradicate this kind of spirit which has somehow come to prevail among a certain section of the population. I shall deal with those matters then; on this occasion, I only wanted to add my own personal experience to those of other hon. Members. I think, Sir, this question can very well be decided upon by having some kind of a conference between the leaders of parties of this House and the President and the Secretary and other Members concerned."

3-45
p.m.

* The Hon. Sir MAHOMED USMAN:—"Mr. President, Sir, I am extremely sorry that some hon. Members have been very much inconvenienced on account of the restrictions that we have placed in admitting people into the Fort. Hon. Members know we have been forced to take these measures on account of certain undesirables getting entrance into the Fort; we remember the cracker incident and the placing of the revolvers in the Governor's box. In order that such incidents may not recover, we have had to take precautions and I am extremely sorry that some hon. Members have been inconvenienced. It is not the desire of the Government to put any hon. Member to inconvenience. If any inconvenience exists under the present regulations and if the hon. Members will bring it to my notice, I am prepared to look into it. I know the case referred to by my hon. Friend, Mr. Abdul Hameed Khan, and I am sorry that he was put to much inconvenience. But when the case was brought to my notice, I had consultation with the Chief Secretary and the Hon. the President. I am extremely glad to say that the Legislative Council Office has arranged to post peons at the gates. They will carry the cards of the intending visitors to the Members whom they want to see and if the Member concerned wants them to be let in they are permitted inside. This arrangement has been in existence for the last two sittings and no complaint has been received. I would like hon. Members to remember that we are living in difficult times and though there may be some little inconvenience caused to them they may be overlooked in the interests of the greatest good for the greatest number. As I have said already, it is not the desire of the Government to put hon. Members to any inconvenience whatsoever. I shall further look into the question."

MR. ABDUL HAMEED KHAN:—"Mr. President, Sir, I am thankful for the desire of the Government not to put inconvenience to the hon. Members. I would like, Sir, that beyond the desire there must be something practical done. The Hon. the Leader of the House has said that some peons have been posted and persons who give their name cards are given admission on the Members asking them to be admitted. But

14th March 1934]

[Mr Abdul Hameed Khan]

how can we expect messengers, peons and servants of Hon. Members to have any name cards and hand them over to those peons so that they may deliver them to the Member concerned? The difficulty is the same as it used to be. And I feel that nothing has been done. Although the Hon. the Leader of the House says that something has been done already to modify the conditions that existed before, I am afraid the Hon. the Leader of the House is not aware that there has not been any material difference between conditions that existed before and those that exist now. The inconvenience is the same. I have experienced and I think my Colleagues also would have experienced the same. What I feel is, there would be difficulties if really urgent messages are not delivered to the Members. I know, Sir, that there is a necessity to restrict admission into the precincts of the Fort. But, as I have said before, it is necessary that some method should be devised by which, side by side with restrictions, facilities should be given to the Members so that they may not be put to such difficulties as some of our Colleagues have experienced. There is no doubt that people who come in cars do not find the same difficulty as others who come walking. I am sorry the ordinary constables, who are ill-paid and who are not highly educated, think that those persons who come in cars are safe persons and that others are unsafe. I do not know how a person coming in a car becomes safe and one walking becomes unsafe. But that is their mentality. You cannot change their mentality. It is our lookout to see that some method is devised so that Members are not put to the same inconvenience they have been put to all this time. I hope, Sir, that the Government and the Legislative Council department will be able to consider the question seriously and devise means for removing these difficulties, which have been experienced by the hon. Members. I beg leave to withdraw the motion."

The motion was, by leave, withdrawn.

The Demand was put and carried and the Grant was made.

DEMAND X—SECRETARIAT AND HEADQUARTERS ESTABLISHMENTS,
DISTRICT ADMINISTRATION AND MISCELLANEOUS—RESERVED.

* The Hon. Sir ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL:—"Mr. President, Sir, I move—

'that the Government be granted a sum not exceeding Rupees 2,29,63,400 under the head Secretariat and Headquarters Establishments, District Administration and Miscellaneous—Reserved.'"

* The Hon. the PRESIDENT:—"I may inform the House that four hours are allotted for the discussion of this particular Demand."

* Mr. C. BASU DEV:—"Mr. President, Sir, I move the cut motion standing in my name, viz.—

'To reduce the allotment of Rs. 15,500 for Civil Secretariats—Chief Secretariat—Pay of Officers, by Rs. 100.'

[Mr. C. Basu Dev]

[14th March 1934]

In giving notice of this cut motion on this Demand, I wanted to draw the attention of the Government to three or four grievances of those who are employed in Government service. The first point I would urge upon the attention of the Government is the position of the backward Hindu communities and their representation in the services of Government. Some time ago I and some other representatives of the backward Hindu communities had the honour of waiting on the Hon. the Revenue Member and urging on him the claims of these communities for a proper share in Government service. The Hon. Member was kind enough to give a very sympathetic hearing and asked me for a list of these communities. Till now I have not been able to give him a complete list. I could have given him the list specified in the schedule to the Educational Rules, but I did not want to give it because I was afraid I might be omitting some other communities who might have a claim to come under that category. I think it would be easier for the Hon. Member to get a complete list himself. However, I hope with the aid of my friends I shall be able to give him as complete a list as possible within a short time.

“ Sir, I understand that one-fourth of the population of this Presidency is the strength of the backward Hindu communities who go without any representation in services. It is a matter of common knowledge that in the application forms of the Madras Services Commission, there is a column regarding the candidate's relationship, if any, to men in Government service. The practical result of this is to create yet another community—a community of Government servants. Unfortunately for the backward Hindu communities, they do not have many relations in Government service and they are very seriously handicapped on this account. Rightly or wrongly, people in this Presidency generally set a great store in service under Government. And rightly or wrongly, the Government have accepted the principle of communal representation in services and they have allotted five appointments out of every twelve to the non-Brahman communities. I am sorry to say that all these five places are being monopolized now by what may be called advanced communities among non-Brahmans. I don't want to name these communities lest I should tread upon their corns. I am sure my hon. Friend, Dr. Natesan, who is bound to speak on this Demand, (hear, hear) will support the claims of the backward Hindu communities for a proper share in the services. I am also certain that my hon. and revered Friend (Sir A. P. Patro) will also strongly support them; both of them occupy leading positions in my party,—a party based upon communal justice and communal representation. If communal representation is to effect even distribution of appointments among all communities, if the idea underlying it is the levelling up of the various communities which are struggling for expression, Government must take an early decision on the subject of affording proper representation to backward Hindu communities and remove, so far as the backward communities at least are concerned, that clause in the application form which wants particulars regarding candidates' relations in Government service. In my opinion, the only way to do that is either to amend the communal

14th March 1934] [Mr. C. Basu Dev]

Government Order or to give instructions to the Madras Services Commission to give preference to candidates belonging to the backward Hindu communities, when filling up posts reserved for non-Brahmans. In this connexion, I would say a word about the Brahmans. We are being told every day by the Brahmans that we are communal and that they are not communal at all. Why then should two out of every twelve appointments be reserved for this community? If I referred to this aspect of the communal Government Order, it is certainly not with the object of denying representation to a set of very efficient people. The Brahmans are as communal as, if not more communal than, other communities, and the sooner some of them give up the tall talk about nationalism and non-communalism, the better for them and for everybody concerned.

[At this stage Mr. M. A. Muthiah Chettiyar, one of the Chairmen, occupied the Chair.]

“ Another object of this cut motion is to urge the grant of half holidays on all Saturdays in lieu of a full holiday on penultimate Saturdays. The Government servants have heavy work and the grant of ^{4 p.m.} one and a half days' leave in a week will greatly help them to recover from the strain of the week. I should think that instead of granting a holiday on the penultimate Saturday, Government may make it a half holiday on every Saturday.

“ Sir, the Hon. the Finance Member expressed solicitude the other day, and rightly too, for the welfare of the employees under Government. But, there is one department of the Government which has not had proper attention paid to it and that is the Survey department. There are about 300 or more persons who have been serving Government loyally and efficiently for over 25 or 30 years and yet they are kept on a temporary basis. I think, Sir, it is time that these persons are confirmed.”

The Hon. Sir ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL:—“ Sir, is the hon. Member in order in referring to the Survey department under this grant? It comes under Demand I.”

* The CHAIRMAN:—“ I would request the hon. Member to confine his remarks to this particular Demand.”

* Mr. C. BASU DEV:—“ I am sorry, Sir, I was only speaking about Government servants in general. Another point to which I wish to invite the attention of the Government is this. During the Non-co-operation movement, some of the village officers were found guilty of participating in the movement against the Government. They were punished, but in some cases there is a doubt that justice might have been miscarried. Now that the Non-co-operation movement has been completely suppressed and there is no danger of its revival in the near or even in the distant future, I hope the Government will take a sympathetic attitude and at least consider individual cases, wherever such cases are brought to the notice of the Government and restore the officers concerned to their places, or at least remove certain disabilities imposed upon them.

[Mr. C. Basu Dev]

[14th March 1934]

“ Lastly, Sir, I come to the question of the salary cut. A nation is judged by the standards of living of its people. In this country, particularly in this Presidency, the standard of living is set by the Government servants. If we are to rise in the estimation of other nations, if we are to hold our own as equals with other nations, we have got to have a good standard of living. If we cut down the salaries of Government servants, which are by no means high, it will certainly not serve the purpose of raising the standard or the position of our country in the estimation of other countries. Further, there is a limit beyond which it is dangerous for prices of commodities to go down. It will not meet the cost of production and economic ruin will be the result. One of the methods by which such a state of affairs can be prevented is by increasing the purchasing power of the people. Salary cut will work in the opposite direction and accelerate the economic breakdown. Therefore, I would earnestly appeal to the Hon. House not to press upon the Government the question of the reduction of the salaries of Government servants. I repeat once again that the salaries of Government servants are by no means high—they are just sufficient and perhaps not even sufficient to make both ends meet. (Mr. Sami Venkatachalam Chetti: ‘ Which? ’) If my hon. Friend understands the English phrase, he will understand which ends I meant.”

* Mr. V. T. ARASU:—“ Mr. Chairman, Sir, if I rise to speak on the cut motion moved by my hon. Friend, Mr. Basu Dev, it is not to give my support to the views given expression to by the hon. Member. For, as is well known to hon. Members of this House, myself and Mr. Basu Dev have never had the privilege or pleasure of agreeing on many matters which come up for discussion on the floor of this House. Sir, it has been the convention in this House for Members to speak in general terms on cut motions moved by one hon. Member although they may not be in entire agreement with the views expressed by the mover; and following that convention, I intend making a few remarks.

“ I would like to make a few remarks in regard to the administration of this Province. Let me first take up the broad question of the salaries paid to Government officials. Sir, the Hon. the Finance Member in the course of his Budget speech, as also in his reply to the general discussions on the Budget, was very solicitous about the welfare of the Government servants and said that whatever might be the condition of the country and the tax-payer at large, you must enable the Government to pay the same salary to their servants as they have hitherto been paying. His argument resolved itself to this, that for the efficiency of the steel-frame of Government it is essential that the parts of the steel-frame should be kept intact and that end can only be attained by Government paying their servants high salaries. I submit, Sir, that the Hon. the Finance Member was rather unfair to this House when he stated that the remission or reduction in land revenue demanded by this House was not warranted by the conditions prevailing in this country. Whatever that may be—I am not going into that question to-day—I

14th March 1934]

[Mr. V. T. Arasu]

should like to point out to the Hon. the Finance Member the case of the other Provinces in India, particularly I would like to draw the attention of the Hon. the Finance Member to the case of the Punjab, where the cut in the salaries of Government servants is being retained for the coming year as well. The Hon. Sir Henry Craik, the Finance Member of the Punjab Government, very pertinently remarked in the course of his Budget speech, that the Government servants also should forego a certain portion of their salaries in view of the fact that the agriculturists who contribute to the revenues of the Government are themselves going through a period of great crisis. I wish the Hon. Sir Hopetoun Stokes would take the hint from Sir Henry Craik and see that at any rate a temporary cut is imposed on the salaries of Government servants, particularly in the case of those Government servants who draw salaries of Rs. 100 and over.

“Next, Sir, I should like to make a few remarks regarding the Revenue Board. It has been pointed out year after year, on the floor of this House that the Revenue Board is not having any work to do at all. Its function is merely that of a post office which simply receives petitions from various persons, for instance, appeals against the orders of Collectors and the like, and pass them on to Government. What is actually done in the Revenue Board, whenever it receives any petitions, is to simply say that it does not find any reason to interfere with the orders of the Collector. That is the order which is invariably passed by the Revenue Board. I ask, where is the necessity for such a costly establishment like the Revenue Board, if it is going to do only this work, namely, the confirmation of the orders passed by the Collectors in charge of the various districts? Therefore, I would urge that the Revenue Board may be abolished and I may also submit, Sir, that if the Revenue Board is abolished the efficiency of the work of the Government will not in any way suffer.

“Thirdly, I should like to make a few observations regarding the Madras Services Commission, about which much has already been said when the report of the Commission came up for discussion on the floor of this House. I may say, Sir, that the Madras Services Commission is becoming a nuisance. I wish, Sir, that the Legislative Council takes into its head to bring in a repealing Bill and put an end to the Services Commission. When I say that it is becoming a nuisance, I voice forth the feeling not only of the non-officials in this Presidency, but also of officials who are in the services of the Government. Sir, instances in which the Services Commission has given very curious decisions have been pointed out to the Hon. the Revenue Member when the report of the Madras Services Commission came up for discussion the other day. But, on this occasion I should like to point out to the Hon. the Revenue Member who is in charge of the portfolio, one or two instances where the Services Commission which is supposed to hold the scales even has failed to do so. I am referring to the case of a magistrate who for some

[Mr. V. T. Arasu]

[14th March 1934]

temperamental defect, was found by Government not entitled to increment or something like that. His case was sent up to the Services Commission and it recommended that the person ought to be dismissed from service altogether. Sir, it must be realized that this magistrate's conduct has been altogether satisfactory and that the temperamental defect in him does not involve any moral turpitude so as to warrant the Services Commission to come to the conclusion that he should be dismissed from service. I am glad, Sir, that the Government rightly refused to take up the advice of the Commission to dismiss him from service. Against this decision of the Government, which is after all the ultimate authority in these matters, the Services Commission has got a nasty remark to make. I wish, Sir, that the Hon. the Revenue Member would take up a firm stand and say that the Madras Government are not going to be dictated to or coerced by the Services Commission, which is after all a creature of this Council.

"Again, Sir, much has also been said by the advocates of the Services Commission, among whom I count the Hon. Minister for Education, that the Services Commission is doing good work. But, I should like to point out another instance where the Services Commission has done a great wrong, and has even gone out of the way to criticise the very just act of the Government. I am referring to the question of the appointment of a professor in the Queen Mary's College. When there were two applicants for the professorship, the Services Commission recommended one who had only a third-class honours degree of the Madras University, in preference to one who had secured a second-class honours degree of the Madras University, besides that of the London University. I ask the Hon. the Revenue Member to say whether this is the kind of fair-play that the Government are having at the hands of the Services Commission. For these reasons, Mr. Chairman, I think the sooner we get rid of the Services Commission the better it is.

"Instances of this kind, where the Services Commission seek to perpetrate grave injustices can be multiplied and I do not want to take more of the time of this House on this matter. However, I would only conclude by appealing to the Hon. the Revenue Member to strictly point out to the Services Commission that it is after all an advisory body and that it should not seek to dictate to Government this way or that way. Government are the supreme authority and it is the Government that is responsible to the people at large for the sound administration of this Province, and therefore Government must retain in their hands absolute over-riding powers in these matters.

"I find, Sir, there is another cut motion given notice of by my hon. Friend, Mr. Nadimuthu Pillai from Tanjore, suggesting that a sum of Rs. 75 lakhs may be cut out of this Demand. I request this hon. House to consider that motion of my hon. Friend in all seriousness and not brush it aside. It has somehow or other become customary here to move only token cut motions and not make any substantial reductions in the Demands asked for. I would suggest that the best procedure in these

14th March 1934]

[Mr. V. T. Arasu]

matters would be to make definite proposals to the Government as to the exact amount of retrenchment desired, instead of saying that the Demand may be reduced by Rs. 100. I am sure my hon. Friend, Mr. Nadimuthu Pillai, will have very many suggestions to put forward to Government as to the ways and means by which retrenchment may be effected to the extent of Rs. 75 lakhs.

“ But for my part, Sir, I should like to give one or two suggestions. I find from the list of officers under Government provided to hon. Members the other day that the number of officers gazetted and non-gazetted has been increasing year after year. Whereas in the year 1924, if I remember aright, there were about 1,700 gazetted officers serving under this Government, I find in 1933 it has gone up to well over 2,000. In the case of the non-gazetted officers drawing Rs. 100 and over, whereas in 1924 there were about 16,000—I am speaking from memory—it has now gone up to 19,000. These go to show clearly that the Government have been going on increasing the number of officers. I suggest to Government that they may cut down some of the superfluous officers. I find that of late the policy of Government has been to go on increasing the number of Deputy Collectors and place them in charge of small divisions. I suggest the number may be reduced and the divisions may be placed directly under I.C.S. officers who are Sub-Collectors in these areas. This is only one instance of the very many ways in which the Government can very well effect retrenchment in their expenditure. I suggest to the Government to take up the work of effecting retrenchment in the number of officers as also in the grade of their salaries.”

4-15
p.m.

* Diwan Bahadur A. APPADURAI PILLAI:—“ Mr. President, Sir, I rise to speak on the motion that appears at page 57 of the printed agenda to discuss the necessity of increasing Indian Christian representation in all the services. Sir, I may not be misunderstood as being rather communal in outlook with reference to services. I am one of those persons who believe sincerely in efficiency. If efficiency and merit alone are to be considered certainly communal considerations ought not to be allowed to prevail. Sir, the fact remains that in order to adjust communities in public services, in order to bring about a balance of power, it has been decided by Government to introduce and to operate the communal rotation in public services. In giving effect to communal rotation, Sir, the members of the Indian Christian community have often been feeling, ever since the principle of rotation was introduced, that the classification of Indian Christian members along with other communities has been detrimental to their interests. We find, Sir, from Rule 3 of the Madras Services Manual that out of twelve appointments, two appointments are set apart for Indian Christian members. The fourth turn and the eleventh turn in the rotation go to the Indian Christians. Unfortunately, unlike the members of other communities, the Indian Christian comes in for a share of his chance in this way: ‘ One Anglo-Indian or Indian Christian or non-Asiatic.’ Well, Sir, the members of the sister community, namely,

[Mr. A. Appadurai Pillai]

[14th March 1934]

the Brahman community which is equally cultured and educated, stand alone and get two chances. The Muslim friends similarly educated like the Indian Christian, stand to get two chances. It is not clear, Sir, how and by what process of calculation the Government decided to classify the Indian Christian alone with the Anglo-Indian or the non-Asiatic. An Indian Christian is primarily an Indian. Sir, we often feel and there is a large body of Indian Christians feeling behind my back when I say that the Indian Christians as a class are not satisfied with this classification. We have not lost a single opportunity of bringing this matter time and again to the notice of the Government. The Indian Christian Association, Madras, sought for an interview with the Hon. Member in order that they might ventilate their grievances and the Member might be approached to devise ways and means to remedy this defect. Unfortunately, the interview has been denied. But, when His Excellency the Viceroy paid a visit to this Province, he very gladly gave an opportunity to the Indian Christian Association to read an address to him and it made a particular point of this circumstance that the Indian Christian community being classed with other communities in the matter of selection for the services is at a disadvantage. Unfortunately, the matter was not further pursued and evidently the Viceroy was under the impression that this was a matter for the Local Government to settle. It may be on the ground of population that two have been set apart for the Indian Christians. I do not at all dispute this proportion. But what I would wish to point out to this hon. House is that in the matter of calculations, the literates in the community should also be taken into account. I had the curiosity to look into the Census Report to find how the Indian Christian community stands with reference to other communities in the matter of literacy, and whether on the mere counting of heads our allotment can be sustained or whether the fact that we have equipped ourselves both materially and physically in the matter of public services should also be taken into account. We find that the total population of this Presidency is 46 millions, out of which the Hindus are 41 millions, Muslims 3.3 millions, Christians 1.7 millions, Europeans 12 thousands, and Anglo-Indians 28 thousands. The literates, Sir, in the several communities are: out of 41 million Hindus, the literate population is 3 million 684 thousands. Among the Muslims out of 3 millions, there are 347 thousand literates. Among the Christians, out of 1 million 774 thousands, the literate population is 322 lakhs. Among the literates, I had the curiosity to see how we stand with reference to literacy in English. I find among the Hindus out of a total of 3 million 684 thousands, the literates in English are 478 lakhs. Among the Muslims, 32 thousands are literate in English, out of 347 thousand literates. Among the Christians, out of a total of 322 lakhs, the literates in English are 110 lakhs. Sir, the Christian leads in the matter of education. The Christian leads also in the matter of literacy in English. Unfortunately, when the Indian Christian has taken care to equip himself in the matter of general and educational attainments and is fit to stand on terms of equality with the members of other communities, this

14th March 1934]

[Mr. A. Appadurai Pillai]

communal rotation has come in its way, prejudicially to him. This rotation was never known, as hon. Members are aware, some years ago, and the Indian Christian was ready to run on terms of equality with members of other communities. Somehow or other the communal rotation has come to stay. May I now appeal to the hon. Members of the House to consider the fairness of keeping so many literates idle and putting them in a class with Anglo-Indians and non-Asiatics instead of letting them alone? The Brahman is 1 million 27 thousands. The literates among them are 50 per cent, and the literates in English are 1 lakh 76 thousands. For 1 lakh 76 thousand literates in English they get two chances. The Christian for 110 lakhs gets two chances classed with members of other communities. If, Sir, the Muslim brother and the Brahman brother could get two chances independently for themselves, does it not stand to reason, that the Indian Christian should also get similar treatment? There is one fact, Sir, that should be remembered with reference to the members of the Indian Christian community. It is all well known and it will seem as if I carry coal to Newcastle when I explain and I am sure it won't lose interest on account of repetition, that the Indian Christian members are recruited from various castes and communities. They are mostly converts and as converts they have come with empty hands into the Christian fold. We have no patrimony to fall back upon and most of the members of the community have absolutely no landed property but depend entirely upon their brains and their mental equipment. We therefore stand in need of greater assistance in the matter of procuring appointments. If it is possible for an Indian Christian to engage himself in commerce or in cultivation, I hope he would not lag behind any other community in pursuing it. Unfortunately, it so happens that the great majority of them are without landed interests and they therefore have necessarily to rely on their mental equipment and training.

“ If the hon. Members of the House and the Government will take into consideration these things and remedy the difficulties which have been complained of ever since the communal rule was introduced, the community would certainly be grateful. I do not wish to take up the time of the House any longer. I have already troubled the House with a lot of statistics. If hon. Members care to look into them, I am prepared to hand the statistics to them. I collected them only from the Census Report available in the Council Library.”

4-30
P.M.

MR. P. V. KRISHNAYYA CHOUDARI:—“ Mr. President, there is a big clamour in the Telugu country that the Andhras are not represented in the Madras offices at all. This is one of the reasons why the Telugus are anxious that they should have a separate Province for themselves. The other day one of my hon. Friends elicited the information that in the Madras offices for every 200 Tamils, there is only 1 Telugu. This is a very unsatisfactory state. Now if you take the Telugu district offices, you will find that there also Malabarees and Tamils preponderate even among the clerical staff. It is said that the Madras Services Commission which

[Mr. P. V. Krishnayya Choudari]

[14th March 1934]

is a creature of the Legislative Council is responsible for this dumping in the Telugu district offices and that for this reason the power of appointment should be placed in the hands of the Government. I do not agree with Mr. V. T. Arasu when he suggested this remedy. I would prefer this body to choose the men on their merits.

“Sir, about the way in which jamabandi work is carried on, I would like to say a word. Now the practice is for the officers concerned to stay in the taluk headquarters and call upon the village officers and others to come with their registers and so on. I would like that instead of putting the village officers to the necessity of staying at the taluk headquarters for 20 or 30 days for this work and making them incur unnecessary expenditure, it will be well if the Deputy Collectors or other jamabandi officers are made to go to the Revenue firkas and inspect the accounts there. Ordinarily these poor village officers have to stay at the taluk headquarters for 20 to 30 days, but if the mamul is not paid by them, their accounts would be subjected to further and further scrutiny. Further, Sir, as these Deputy Collectors and others would not get their daily allowance if their stay at one place exceeds ten days, they change their place of halt to suit their pockets and this increases the inconvenience of the village officers. Again, some time ago, for financial reasons, the allowance which these ill-paid men were getting was taken away. Now according to the Hon. the Finance Member, the finances have improved to such an extent that it is not necessary to reintroduce the pay cut, and so I suggest that the allowance paid to these men on Rs. 12 and Rs. 13 during jamabandi work, may be restored. I see no reason why when there is no need to cut down the pay of even the officers drawing Rs. 1,000 and Rs. 2,000, the small allowance of one or two rupees formerly paid to the village officers and vettis should be withheld.

“Sir, in my district, the Addanki Deputy Tahsildar's office was abolished as a measure of retrenchment. This step is causing considerable hardship to people in Ongole and other places as they have to walk 30 or 40 miles to go to the nearest Deputy Tahsildar's office.

“I want to mention another thing in this connexion. Sir, it is a well-known fact that village officers are asked to bring in supplies to the inspecting officers. Of course there is the farce of payment for the supplies and the less said about it the better. For instance, for one fowl supplied a payment of two annas is made. Does it come anywhere near the price? Similarly 4 annas is paid for a viss of ghee which sells at Rs. 2. I think, Sir, that instead of making the poor village officers pay for these things who will in their turn fall on the ryots and others, it will be better if the officers are made to arrange for these things themselves. This step will have the effect of giving a great relief to the poor village officers and vettis.

“Sir, there is another direction in which relief can be given to these village officers. The revenue collections made in a Deputy Tahsildar's office are usually sent through the poor vettis to the Taluk Treasury

14th March 1934]

[Mr. P. V. Krishnayya Choudari]

without a pie being paid to them for travelling expenses. These people are made to walk the whole distance. Sir, when you are making so many arrangements in the Legislative Council to prevent any mischief by revolutionaries, what steps are you taking to see that these village officers who carry money to the extent of Rs. 5,000 or even Rs. 10,000 are not waylaid and robbed of the Government money? I request the Hon. Member to permit the Deputy Tahsildar's office to keep the revenue collections with them. But if this cannot be allowed, you can very easily arrange for police constables to carry the money as a police station is always to be found located near a Deputy Tahsildar's office. In the alternative, as everyday some file or other is sent to the Taluk office by the Deputy Tahsildar, this might be sent along with it through a clerk or constable.

"I would in this connexion suggest that service stamps may be supplied to the village officers also. For want of this, if a single cover has to be despatched from the village office, a vetti has to carry it. This means that for saving one anna to the Government, the poor vetti has to walk long distances. These are all practical difficulties. The Government should consider these sympathetically. Now I want to mention this fact that they have got a central tapal system. I do not know why the Government of India have not prosecuted the Revenue authorities for running this system when they are prosecuting the local bodies for making their own postal arrangements.

"In the case of Educational offices, I find that every office is inspected by the higher officers. In the Revenue Department also, the Taluk offices are inspected by the Collectors and the Collectorate by the Members of the Board of Revenue. But, Sir, the District Educational Council office is not inspected by the Director of Public Instruction."

The Hon. Sir ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL:—"Is this in order, Mr. Chairman?"

* The CHAIRMAN:—"I think the hon. Member can reserve his remarks on education for the Demand under Education."

Mr. P. V. KRISHNAYYA CHOUDARI:—"I am not offering any remarks on Education as such. I am only referring to the District Educational Council which is a district organization."

* The CHAIRMAN:—"But the District Administration referred to in this Demand has nothing to do with the District Educational Councils."

Mr. P. V. KRISHNAYYA CHOUDARI:—"Then, Sir, I will reserve my remarks on these bodies for the Grant under Education."

"Sir, I was giving examples of the ill-treatment of the village officers. There are several Government Orders on the question of the treatment to be meted out to the village officers. But the pity of it is that these are simply ignored. They are treated as a dead letter. If the Hon. the Revenue Member is prepared to look into the question and take action, I can send bundle after bundle of papers relating to the grievances of these people. But there must be effective action taken.

[Mr. P. V. Krishnayya Choudari]

[14th March 1934]

There is no use of my sending the papers to the Hon. Member if effective action would not be taken as my action might lead to harassment of these people by the taluk officers.

“ One other point I wish to dwell upon is that the district officers are mainly members of one community. When there are several communities in the districts, I do not see any reason why the officers posted to the districts should all come from one and the same community. As it is, all the district officers posted to our parts are Indians. It is sometimes desirable to have some European officers also in the districts. That is what I feel personally. I request the Hon. Member to consider the matter and do the needful.”

* Rao Sahib Pandit GANALA RAMAMURTI then addressed the House in Telugu. The following is the English rendering of the same:—

“ Mr. President, Sir, the agitation that had been carried on by the All-India Viswakarmam Liberal Federation to secure a legitimate share to the members of the Viswabrahmana community in respect of public services and representation in popular assemblies had fallen on deaf ears. The Local Government did not afford facilities for an interview to the leaders of the Viswabrahmana community with the Simon Commission and the Indian Franchise Committee to tender evidence before those august bodies. There is also a funny side of this picture. The political and social backwardness of my community can be revealed by the earlier Census reports. But when I interviewed Dr. Hutton, the All-India Census Superintendent in 1930 to know how he had classified my community, he remarked that the census was only intended to show the numerical strength of the population, devoid of any political significance. But strangely enough the Lothian Committee have prepared the lists of Scheduled Castes in various Provinces in consultation with Dr. Hutton. Thus, Sir, the claims of my community which is over 12 lakhs in this Presidency, according to the Census of 1921, have been overlooked. Though the Lothian Committee had recommended that the minor minorities should be provided with representation in the new Constitution, it is sad to think that the White Paper proposals do not contain any such provision. It is too much for me to say at this juncture whether the proposed Constitution is an improvement over the existing Constitution, but I am sure of one thing, namely, that it has abolished nomination in representative bodies while not securing the representation of minor minorities otherwise. Thus the fate of backward communities like mine seems to have been sealed under the new Constitution, unless it is duly altered. Communities like Kadar and Lohar in Bengal, Hill-Dom or Shilpkar in the United Provinces, Khatik in the Punjab and Sutradhar in Assam, which are but integral sections of the Viswabrahmana community, have been afforded representation in the respective Provinces by being included under the Scheduled Castes, while the same privilege is denied to the Viswabrahmans in this Presidency. If untouchability should be the sole criterion for such inclusion the *thattans* of British Malabar who are a component section

14th March 1934] [Pandit Ganala Ramamurti]

of the Viswabrahmans should have found a place in the Scheduled Castes of this Presidency. I strongly urge therefore that by some means or other the representation of my community in Legislative Bodies as well as in the services along with that of the other backward classes in the Hindu fold should be secured. Representation in public bodies should be on population basis in the future Reforms without prejudice to the provision made for the Depressed Classes. If this is not possible, this ancient industrial community may be included under 'labour,' and seats in the Legislatures may be provided for the franchise for election being the artisans who pay professional tax in municipalities and who register their names as voters and all village servants including blacksmiths, carpenters and shroffs. In this regard the artisans may be treated separately, reservation of seats being made on the strength of population, from the All-India Trades Union Federation. Separate representation may be allowed also to the minor minorities in the Hindu fold known as 'backward communities.' By the way, I may be allowed to say that it is desirable that the qualifications for the membership of the Council of State and the Upper Houses in Provinces may include membership in the Provincial Legislatures and in the Senate of a University. Finally I trust that before the Constitution Act emerges from Parliament, provision would be made therein for adequate representation in the Legislative Bodies and in public services of the Viswabrahmana community and other backward classes in the Hindu fold.

"In support of my arguments I would like to read a few sentences from a speech in the Legislative Assembly on the 24th August 1933 in connexion with the Hindu Temple-Entry Disabilities Removal Bill, and beg your permission for the same. Mr. Amar Nath Dutt, M.L.A., observed as follows:—

'I think I may claim to be a member of the depressed classes and I would like to be a member of the depressed classes; considering the Poona Pact and its effect on Bengal, I welcome to be a member of the depressed classes and the Kayasthas would welcome to be members of the depressed classes in view of the political advantage we are likely to gain in Bengal owing to the blessed Poona Pact.'

"I endorse the sentiments expressed in the foregoing quotation and appeal to the Government that in the light of the above view they may be pleased to bestow upon the Viswabrahmana community the same privileges which were already granted to the so-called depressed classes, for the betterment of the members of my community.

"Sir, by the way, I would like to say that I am one of those who welcome the proposed Constitution Act, outlined in the 'White Paper' though it falls short of the expectations of the Indian Nation who follow the principle of wholeheartedly accepting what is given and earnestly striving for what is ultimately to be gained, namely, Dominion Status. It is a welcome feature of the proposals for Indian Constitutional Reforms that the safeguarding of the legitimate interests of the minorities has been entrusted to the care of the Governors and the Governor-General. While providing for the due representation of the holders of

[Pandit Ganala Ramamurti]

[14th March 1934]

agricultural and other interests the said proposals contain nothing to safeguard the interests of the artisan classes by affording proper representation to them. But the sentence, namely, 'nor must it be assumed that the present proposals are in all respects so complete and final, that a Bill would contain nothing which is not covered by this White Paper' occurring in the introduction, has brought me solace in this regard and has impelled me to make bold to put forward the claims of the Viswābrahmans of this Presidency for adequate representation in the popular bodies as well as in the services under the future Constitution.

"Sir, let me refer to the cut motion under Demand No. VIII which I had given notice of, viz., that—

"To reduce the allotment of Rs. 3,72,900 for Heads of Provinces and Executive Councils, Reserved, by Rs. 100 (to request the Local Government for recommending to His Majesty's Government to provide representation by any means in the future Legislatures, Central as well as Provincial, including Upper and Lower Houses for the Viswābrahmāna community of this Presidency in particular and all other backward classes in the Hindu fold in general under the scheme of Reforms contemplated in the "White Paper")."

and that was not reached.

"I submit that the subject-matter of the above motion was first given notice of by me as an amendment to the Hon. the Revenue Member's motion that the proposals for Indian Constitutional Reforms contained in the 'White Paper' be taken into consideration with a view to raise a debate in the House regarding the future position of the Viswābrahmāna community in particular and all other backward classes in the Hindu fold in general under the proposed Constitution. Though the said amendment was included in the agenda for 23rd March 1933, I am sorry to state that it was not reached. Hence I was unable then to bring to the notice of the hon. Members the disabilities of my community in respect of the new Reforms.

"Before proceeding to the subject proper of the present motion, Mr. President, with your permission, I read the said amendment for the information of the House—

'Add at the end of the Revenue Member's motion:

And on such consideration, this Council is of opinion—

- "(1) that the constitutional proposals contained in the 'White Paper', in so far as they relate to the claims of the Viswābrahmāna community of this Presidency, are unacceptable, as no provision is made for the representation of the artisan classes as is done in the case of holders of agricultural land and other interests despite the fact that representation is provided for the occupational grounds of Kadar, Lohar, etc., in Bengal, the functional castes of Hill Dom or Shilkpur, etc., in the United Provinces, the Khatik, etc., in the Punjab, the Sūtradhar, etc., in Assam, which form part and parcel of the Viswakarmāna community by being included under the scheduled castes (hitherto known as the depressed classes) other than classes in Appendix VIII;
- (2) that the Viswābrahmāna community of this Presidency may be included under the scheduled castes in the said Appendix under Madras, reservation of seats on population basis being provided for without prejudice to the existing arrangement of depressed classes; and

14th March 1934]

[Pandit Ganala Ramamurti]

- (3) that the same facilities be afforded to the unrepresented minor minorities in the Hindu fold known as the backward communities including all village servants ”.

“ I must not forget to mention in this connexion the yeoman service done by His Excellency the Governor and the Hon. the Home Member in affording various facilities for the depressed classes and the backward communities in the Hindu fold and in otherwise improving their lot. Taking advantage of this opportunity, on behalf of the backward classes including Viswabrahmans, I beg to offer my hearty congratulations to His Excellency Lieut.-Col. Rt. Hon. Sir George Frederick Stanley, P.C., G.C.I.E., C.M.G., on his appointment as Viceroy of India and the Hon. Sir Mahomed Usman Sahib Bahadur, K.C.I.E., on his unique appointment as Governor as one of the major Provinces. I would appeal to them to do their mite to uplift the backward classes and my community in future also and win their everlasting gratitude. In conclusion, I suggest to the Local Government to recommend to His Majesty's Government to provide representation of the Viswabrahmans of this Presidency and other backward classes in the Hindu fold by some means or other in the Legislatures under the New Reforms.

“ Finally, I request that the Hon. the Member for Revenue be pleased to grant to the members of my community all political and educational concessions granted to the so-called depressed classes.”

* Rao Sahib V. I. MUNISWAMI PILLAI:—“ Mr. President, Sir, I have given notice of a cut motion under this demand and I would like to discuss it at this stage. Sir, in the matter of services, it is admitted on all hands that the depressed classes are occupying a very low position. When the Madras Services Commission was started, every one expected that it would be a great boon, especially to the minority communities, and if I may say so, to the depressed classes in special. Now, as it is, seeing what is happening in the Services Commission, there is no encouragement for the depressed classes. I think great injustice is done to the depressed classes after the establishment of the Services Commission in this Province.

4-45
p.m.

“ Sir, this community welcomes communal rotation. But going through the list, I find that not a single place has been given definitely to the depressed classes. It is clubbed with other communities. Taking the list as it is, depressed classes cover a very wide range of communities, and I do not see where the depressed classes come in. This question has been agitated in the Council for the last so many years; but still I don't find anything has been done to remedy it. Last year under a token cut we discussed this point elaborately, and I think the Hon. the Revenue Member said that this matter would be looked into. I do not think so far anything has been done.

“ Sir, with regard to the communities that form the depressed classes it has been clearly defined in the Legislative Council Manual as to who are the ‘ Depressed Classes.’ And after the enactment of the

[Mr. V. I. Muniswami Pillai]

[14th March 1934]

Local Boards and Municipalities Acts, it has been clearly defined as to who are Adi-Dravidas, the untouchable classes. And I don't know from which vocabulary the Services Commission has taken the definition of 'depressed classes.' I think they have mixed it up with 'other communities.'

"Of course we are thankful to the Government for what they have done so far in enabling members of our community to take to services in the Government; but I am afraid that the number will not increase in the face of the quota required on a population basis or a representative basis. Finally, I request the Hon. the Revenue Member, before he lays down his portfolio, to do something for the Depressed Classes by adopting a clear definition, following the Legislative Council Manual and the Local Boards Act, and thus save the community which is trying to be of service to this Province."

"With these words, Sir, I resume my seat."

"Mr. A. P. N. V. NADIMUTHU PILLAI:—"Mr. President, Sir, in my cut motion No. 497 under this Demand, I have suggested that a sum of Rs. 75 lakhs more can be easily saved by Government by further retrenching all their superfluous staff of gazetted and non-gazetted officers, and by the re-imposition of a 10 per cent cut in the salaries of Government officials. The probable savings by this and other means according to my calculations would amount to Rs. 75 lakhs. If this step is taken, I submit, Government will be in a position to give the 25 per cent remission that is asked for. It is a pity that Government have turned down this proposal. In other Provinces, this method, namely, of levying a cut in salaries has been resorted to. I would in particular point out the instance of the Punjab Government. Mr. Chairman, with your leave, I would read extracts from the speech of the Hon. Sir Henry Craik, the Finance Member of the Punjab Government—

"The Government have been guided by two principles in the management of the finances of the Province during the last few years. The first of these was the necessity of showing its practical sympathy with the cultivator in his present distress by means of remissions of taxation up to the utmost possible limit. To secure this end, we have been constrained during the last three years to draw our belts tight and deny ourselves many things, which, in more prosperous times, we should have regarded as indispensable. This policy of rigid self-denial, must, I fear, be continued for some time to come, for it was all important that the Reformed Constitution should have a start unhampered by financial embarrassments."

"But, Sir, the Hon. Sir Hopetoun Stokes does not seem to be guided by such self-imposed ordinances. Sir Hopetoun's arguments in the matter resolves itself into this: 'Whatever may be the condition of the ryots, we do not care. They must pay their revenues in order that we might go on with the administration, and pay the same rates of salaries to our servants. The strength of our steel frame depends on the contentment of our servants. Therefore you should not touch a pie of their salaries.' Sir, this argument, I most respectfully submit, does no credit to the Government of which he is such a distinguished limb."

14th March 1934]

[Mr. A. Pl. N. V. Nadimuthu Pillai]

“ The number of gazetted officers of this Government has risen from 1,747 in 1924 to 1,840 in 1933. In the case of officers drawing salaries of Rs. 100 and above per mensem, they have risen from 7,360 in 1924 to 8,665 in 1933. A committee of officials and non-officials should be appointed soon by Government for effecting further sensible retrenchment of unnecessary staff and for simplification of the various departmental routine work. I will take a few instances in support of my statement:—

(1) Reduction of 25 per cent of the total number of Deputy Collectors.

(2) Investing District Munsifs with first-class magisterial powers and the institution of more honorary first and second-class bench courts.

(3) The investment of village panchayat courts with third class criminal powers and small cause civil suits up to Rs. 200 in value.

“ Considerable savings of expenditure in General Administration have been effected by the Government of the Central Provinces. When that small Province with a revenue of 5 crores has effected considerable retrenchment of expenditure, I would ask the Hon. the Finance Member if it is not possible for this Government with a large revenue of 15 crores to effect a further retrenchment of 75 lakhs as indicated in my cut motion.

“ In this connexion, I would like to draw the attention of the Hon. the Finance and Revenue Members to the memorial of Mr. Mahadeva Ayyar of Mudikondan, Tanjore district, which I trust would have been read by all the Members of this House, on the possibilities of further retrenchment of Government expenditure.

“ In conclusion, I would appeal to the Hon. the Finance and the Revenue Members to give a sympathetic and statesmanlike consideration to my suggestions and accept the resolution of this Council for full 25 per cent remission.”

The CHAIRMAN:—“ The House will now adjourn and meet again to-morrow at 11 a.m.”

R. V. KRISHNA AYYAR,
Secretary to the Legislative Council.

[14th March 1934]

APPENDIX I.

[Vide answer to question No. 784 asked by S. M. K. Beyabani Sahib Bahadur at the meeting of the Legislative Council held on the 14th March 1934, page 224 supra.]

Statement showing the number of injections given and the number of patients treated in the leprosy clinics during the years 1931, 1932 and 1933.

Districts.	Total number of injections.			Total patients treated.		
	1931.	1932.	1933.	1931.	1932.	1933.
1 Ganjam	3,999	14,074	28,955	189	886	1,076
2 Vizagapatam ..	3,358	26,308	27,118	446	1,906	1,425
3 East Godavari ..	39,780	30,696	29,421	3,880	3,352	1,918
4 West Godavari ..	4,377	16,013	35,313	250	562	2,149
5 Kistna	..	6,404	7,474	..	363	564
6 Guntur	523	2,718	7,661	84	264	727
7 Kurnool	..	1,033	2,384	..	79	171
8 Bellary	..	140	2,600	..	27	109
9 Anantapur	..	113	2,268	..	8	166
10 Cuddapah	404	5,223	2,842	68	425	191
11 Nellore	..	1,937	17,039	..	198	922
12 Chittoor	14,269	13,313	10,612	1,971	1,227	819
13 Madras City	7,513	18,404	38,496	542	1,140	2,774
14 Chingleput	11,963	43,938	64,180	300	2,340	2,884
15 North Arcot	3,339	4,843	30,604	182	568	2,467
16 South Arcot	13,420	18,099	70,973	1,423	2,297	9,069
17 Trichinopoly	413	674	33,324	78	103	2,916
18 Salem	23,486	84,829	167,567	1,139	5,977	7,789
19 Tanjore	2,386	20,365	30,406	59	1,534	1,485
20 Madura	23,939	32,789	28,608	2,273	2,116	1,846
21 Ramnad	1,190	2,912	12,503	61	297	760
22 Tinnevely	506	7,866	10,824	103	696	600
23 Coimbatore	466	3,629	4,368	124	253	294
24 Nilgiris, The	No leprosy clinics as the incidence is very low.					
25 Malabar	11,529	19,796	22,093	838	1,095	1,076
26 South Kanara	2,256	3,932	4,592	155	268	284
Total ..	159,116	380,048	692,225	14,165	26,963	44,381

NOTE.—1. Injections do not form the only method of treatment.

2. Figures for 1930 are not available.



11. 11. 1944